The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
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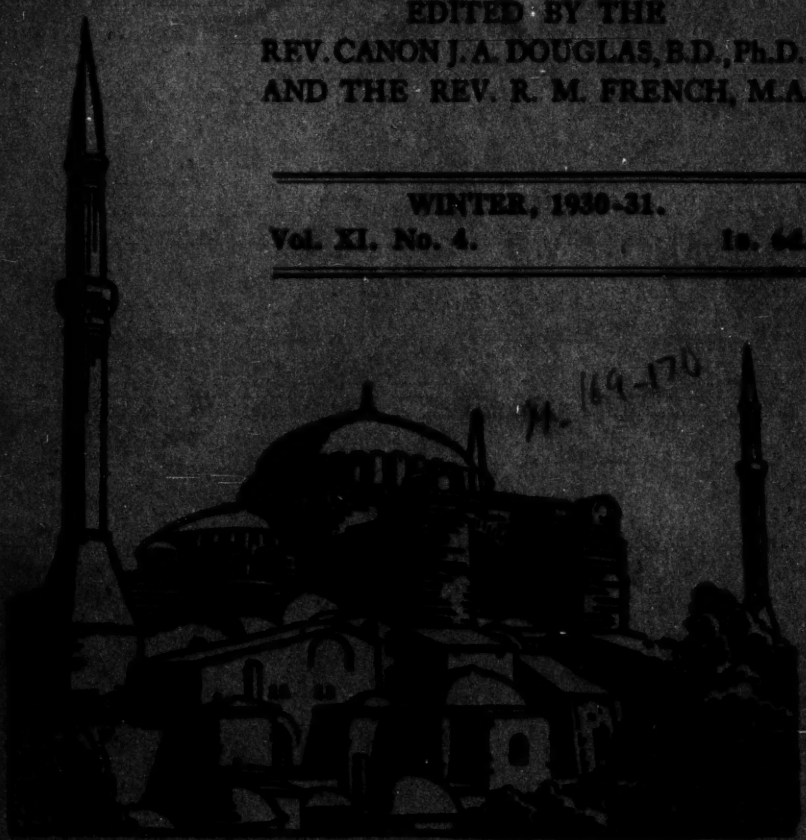

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The Christian East

THE LIMITS OF AGREEMENTS REACHED BY THE ORTHODOX DELEGATES TO THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

[*Since this article was sent to Press, authority has been given by the Bishop of Gloucester, on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the Archbishop of Thyatira, on behalf of the Œcumenical Patriarch, for the publication of the Minutes of the Delegation's Discussions with the Sub-Committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity. This important document, which is printed* in extenso *in next issue of* THE CHRISTIAN EAST, *should be studied in connection with this article, which it illustrates and reinforces.*]

IN my two preceding articles I have sketched the provenance of the Orthodox Delegation to the recent Lambeth Conference, have described the public and ceremonial side of its visit to London, and have indicated the purport and the issue of the discussions which it held with the bishops who formed the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity.

In this final article, it remains for me to deal with the *resumé* of the statements interchanged between it and that sub-committee, which, after being adopted by the Committee on Unity, were implemented by Resolution 33 (c) of the plenum of the Conference[1] as "a sufficient account of the teaching of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it in relation to those subjects," sc. to the subjects discussed by the Delegation and the sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on Unity.

As Anglican Secretary for the Orthodox and Old Catholic Delegations, I was privileged to be on duty throughout their meetings with the sub-committee. But in what I shall write below, I shall not make use of any special information at my disposal, but shall confine myself to four published documents.

(1) The Summary of the Discussions given in the Committee of Unity's Report to the Conference,[1] and the *resumé* of the Anglican and Orthodox statements which is appended to it;

(2) The Statement made by the Patriarch to the Holy Synod of Alexandria, a translation of which is given in this issue of the *Christian East;*

[1] *Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 49, S.P.C.K. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–140.

(3) The Report of Archbishop Nectarie to the Holy Synod of Roumania,[1] a translation of which is given in this issue of the *Christian East;*
and (4) the Narrative of the Patriarch Meletios' Visit to London by his Deacon Anthemios Rosmares which appeared in the official weekly of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, *Pantænos*, week by week throughout July, August and September.

The second and third of these are historic documents of first importance, and both demand and repay very careful study, not only on account of the distinction and weight of their authors but because each in its way is peculiarly a revealing document.

Read together with the Summary of the Discussions in the Report of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Unity, they not only illustrate the difficulties which had to be overcome before the Anglican and Orthodox Churches could speak to each other collectively in a clear atmosphere, but also demonstrate how illusory those difficulties proved to be once, in the persons of their accredited representatives, the two Churches were face to face and opened their minds to each other.

The Patriarch Meletios' Statement.

The Statement of the Patriarch Meletios is an arresting document and of capital importance for future reference. It surveys and estimates the difficulties and obstacles which impede the approach of the two Churches towards Union. In doing so it is even more frank and outspoken in regard to disabilities on the Orthodox side than in regard to disabilities on the Anglican side. Thus it is with reticence and reserve that the Patriarch warns[2] the Orthodox that if the historic conflicts of the diversified Anglican "schools of thought" not only make it hard for the corporate mind of the Anglican Communion to discover itself in agreement with Orthodoxy, they make it even harder for them to express that agreement in terms which are comprehensible and conclusive to the corporate mind of the Orthodox Church. But it is also with plain words that he reminds them that while they claim that the Orthodox Church " possesses a doctrine that has been formulated by the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils,[3] they possess no official and precise statement to offer the Anglican Church in regard to those very matters, agreement on which they predicate to be the necessary preliminary of Union. Nor does he make any bones about telling them roundly that the way in which the Orthodox national autokephalous Churches reflect and subserve the quarrels and rivalries of the national Orthodox States, presents Orthodoxy in a guise which is calculated to cool the desire of Anglicans for the Union of the two Churches.

[1] *Congresul Lambeth*, 1930, *Raport catra Sf. Sinod*, Cernauti, 1930.
[2] *Statement of the Patriarch*, §21, p. 188.
[3] *Ibid.*, §22, p. 189.

Doubtless those Roman Catholics and other propagandists[1] who regard the idea of Anglican and Orthodox solidarity as threatening their plans with disaster, will seize on what the Patriarch says as a useful admission. But in all this, he has presented them with no controversial ammunition which they have not used to the full for years and of which they had not exhausted the use before the Delegation was conceived and his Statement was made.

On the other hand, he has rendered signal service to the progress of the Anglican-Orthodox movement by his courageous exposition of hard facts which are rarely envisaged either in England or among the Orthodox, and the general understanding of which would clear the air of those prevalent misunderstandings that impede the coming to grips with the essential problems of Anglican-Orthodox Reunion.

Of those misunderstandings none is more hurtful and none is harder to dissipate than the widespread, generalizing presupposition which exists among Anglicans that there is a fundamental opposition between the central, traditional Orthodox dogmatic position and the Anglican dogmatic position as the latter is interpreted by the historic Anglican Evangelical and Liberal Schools of Thought.

A Specious *Petitio Principii*.

The obvious deduction from that *petitio principii* is that any and every dogmatic agreement formulated between the two Churches must conceal that fundamental opposition by the skilful use of ambiguous and evasive words and phrases.

As I ventured to state in the first of my articles, I am myself confident that that presupposition is altogether baseless and that, in fact, however contrasted may be the expressions in worship and practice which the Orthodox and the centrally minded Anglican Evangelical and Liberal give to their beliefs, their fundamental, historic and central dogmatic positions are approximately identical.

None the less, that presupposition has remained so long unchallenged that it has grown to be one of those indurated and prevalent prejudices of the effective dissipation of which one is tempted to despair.

In result, on the one hand Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals have come to take it for granted that a dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be reached only by shifting the Anglican balance at their expense, and on the other hand, the Orthodox have come to take it for granted that no dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be accepted by our Evangelicals and Liberals which does not compromise the Orthodox dogmatic position.

That misconception is peculiarly elusive because it originates in a generalizing assumption which in their mutual ignorance of each

[1] *Statement of the Patriarch*, §§27–29.

other when their contacts began eighty years ago presented itself as inevitable both to the Orthodox and to the Anglican, and which Roman Catholics and other propagandists have found a very effective instrument for their zeal to prevent the Union of the two Churches.[1]

Can "Reformed" and "Unreformed" Churches Unite?

That the Orthodox Churches being Unreformed and the Anglican Churches being Reformed, Union between them is unthinkable has been generally accepted a valid deduction. But the validity of the specious syllogism was not tested.

The persistent claim of the Orthodox Church is that it has never departed from the essential scriptural integrity of the Faith of the Gospel, but has rejected the Papal usurpations of Supremacy and Infallibility from the time that they began to appear and has stood fast against Romish error and innovation.

If that claim is good, it is Unreformed because it did not need a Reformation such as that which the Anglican Communion needed in the sixteenth century.

The persistent claim of the Anglican Church is that when it reformed itself, it threw off the Papal usurpation, purged itself of mediæval innovations and errors and returned to the essential Scriptural integrity of the Faith of the Gospel.

Both those claims cannot be good, unless the dogmatic positions of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches are essentially identical. But if those positions are identical, then for the very reason that the Orthodox Church is "Unreformed" and the Anglican Church is "Reformed," the Union of the two Churches must be possible.

Of course, the Orthodox can no more be satisfied with a mere assertion that at its Reformation the Anglican Church returned to the essential integrity of the Faith of the Gospel, than the Anglican can be satisfied by the mere assertion that the Orthodox has maintained it.

To pronounce that their dogmatic positions are essentially identical, they must be satisfied that their conceptions of that which is integral to the Faith of the Gospel are essentially identical.

The Two Churches in Christological Agreement.

As was pointed out in the first of these articles, in regard to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and in regard to Christology, there can be no doubt as to the two Churches being essentially in dogmatic

[1] The otherwise valuable books of that able and sedulous Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Adrian Fortescue, must be read with the greatest discrimination, because from title page to colophon they present Orthodoxy as hardly differing from Roman Catholicism except in regard to the Papacy. As such they might rightly be described as having been written to convince Anglicans that they ought to have nothing to do with the Orthodox.

agreement. It is true that the Orthodox sustain their objection to the Anglican retention of the *Filioque* clause. But they do so because the insertion of that clause having been an arbitrary innovation upon the Œcumenical Creed, its retention is a sustained contravention of the principle that the authority of an Œcumenical Council is incontrovertible and that the spirit of Unity forbids a departure from its decrees except with the consent of the whole Œcumenical Church. As to the *Filioque* in itself, Orthodox theologians are now agreed that, though the words are capable of being interpreted as signifying that there are two "principles"—ἀρχαί—in the Godhead, they are used by the Anglican Churches as signifying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, a doctrine, which, as the Œcumenical Patriarch Tarrasios testified in the eighth century, is Orthodox.

Though some Orthodox theologians have thought that for example our Article VI is excessive in its precisions, no Orthodox theologian has criticized our Thirty-nine Articles as falling short of the Orthodox dogmatic standard in the matters of the Doctrine of God and of Christology. On the contrary, in the paramountcy which Orthodox Dogmatic Teaching assigns to Holy Scripture and in its conceptions of Redemption, Salvation and Justification, it is in obvious and unmistakable essential agreement with Anglican Dogmatic Teaching as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles.

That extremely sectionally minded Anglican Liberals who are impatient of the dogmatic Christology of our Thirty-nine Articles should "distrust" the Anglican-Orthodox Movement is very natural. But to say nothing of the historic Anglican Evangelical who will find strong reinforcement in it, the centrally minded Anglican Liberal Evangelical cannot find anything essentially lacking or amiss in Orthodox dogmatic Teaching in regard to these matters.

The Range and Objective of the Discussions.

Accordingly it is in the region of that dogmatic Teaching which is expressed in the ecclesiastical articles of the Creed, in the conceptions of the Church, of its nature and mystic life, of the Communion of Saints, of the Sacred Ministry, of the Sacraments and so on, that a clear and thorough mutual elucidation of the Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic position is demanded before a decision can be made by them as to whether what is the Faith of the Gospel to the one is the Faith of the Gospel to the other.

Now, the objective of the discussions of the Orthodox Delegation with the Anglican Bishops at Lambeth was such an elucidation—not of course, a general elucidation of the whole Anglican dogmatic position, but such a particular and thorough elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to the Sacred Ministry which might enable the Orthodox Church to decide once and for all whether

without compromise of its own dogmatic position, it could accept the Anglican Ministry as valid.

In those discussions, the Orthodox Delegation tore the heart out of the business. The four written questions[1] which they posed and the subsidiary verbal questions with which they pressed them, precluded the possibility of evasive answers. Inasmuch as they embodied the extreme hesitations of the more conservative Orthodox theologians, those questions maximized the central Orthodox position. And inasmuch as they safeguarded the tendential position of the more extreme centrally minded Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals, the answers given them minimized the Anglican approximation to the Orthodox position. It is, therefore, the more notable and remarkable that after the Delegation had done its work thoroughly and remorselessly, by announcing that it had no more questions to ask and that it was satisfied with the answers given it, it should have declared itself in effect as unanimous in agreeing that, in everything essential to the Orthodox viewpoint, the Anglican conception of the Sacred Ministry is identical with the Orthodox conception.

The *resumé* of the Statements made on either side by the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops together with the Report delivered to it by its sub-committee, was first adopted by the Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference and in due course was implemented by the plenum of the Conference as a "sufficient account" of the Teaching of the Church of England and the Churches in Communion with it.

On the Orthodox side, it would appear to have covered every point that deep and wise thought could have put forward and certainly gives full and unambiguous satisfaction upon the points which—as witness his admirable and attractive Report to its Holy Synod—Archbishop Nectarie had been definitely instructed by the Patriarch and Holy Synod of Roumania to press in their name.

In result, even if in their suspicions of the Orthodox Church as Unreformed the more sectionally minded of our Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals are tempted to cast about in order to find ground for denouncing the statements made by the Anglican Bishops, they will find it hard to instance any one of those statements either as evasive or as inconsistent with their own beliefs. And on the other hand—I write with every modest deference—if in their indurated prejudice that because it is Reformed the Anglican Church must be in dogmatic opposition to Orthodoxy, the most recalcitrant of Orthodox conservatives will find it hard to put his finger upon the most minute of minutiæ within the range of the Discussions, upon which the Orthodox Delegation did not assume an uncompromising attitude and upon which it did not receive satisfaction upon its fullest requirements.

[1] *Statement of the Patriarch* §13, p. 184.

The Successful Issue of the Discussions.

As things were left last August the situation registered was that, in the persons of delegates officially accredited by its autokephalous churches, the Whole Orthodox Church had asked the Whole Anglican Church in the persons of the Anglican Bishops, who were detailed by the Conference's Committee on Unity, for an elucidation—a "sufficient account"—of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to its Sacred Ministry. The purpose for which that elucidation was asked had been stated by the Orthodox Delegation to be the enabling those Orthodox autokephalous Churches which had not adhered to the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Orders by the Œcumenical Patriarchate in 1922, to satisfy themselves that that acceptance was warranted. The process of that elucidation had been governed entirely by the Orthodox Delegation which had specified the points to be elucidated in the form of searching questions. Those questions had been determined not only by the precise instructions given by the Church of Roumania to its delegate, Archbishop Nectarie, that he should withdraw from the Delegation unless they were made the chief agenda of its discussions with the Anglican bishops but by the common judgment of the Delegation which stiffened the Roumanian requirements. They had been put to the Anglican Bishops who met the Delegation, with singular and engaging charm but with the thoroughness of a skilled cross-examiner, by the Patriarch Meletios and—if I may commit a single indiscretion—as I sat and listened, I wondered why his directness did not challenge a reaction until I realized that his questions were almost exactly the very questions which *mutatis mutandis* the Anglican Bishops would have asked him.

The answers given and elaborated by supplementary questions had been exactly those which the most sceptical members of the Delegation had not expected to receive but which they had agreed would satisfy the maximal requirements of their home authorities. Consequently, after four discussions, the Delegation had decided unanimously that it had nothing further to ask and that the elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position in regard to the Sacred Ministry had demonstrated its essential identity with the Orthodox position.

The Delegation, however, had decided[1] that it could not be content with the statements of individual Anglicans or groups of Anglicans. It had needed to report to its home authorities that the elucidation of the Anglican dogmatic position made it by the sub-committee, had been implemented by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference, *i.e.*, by the totality of the Anglican Episcopate. The fourteen Anglican Bishops who had answered their questions had included representatives of every Anglican school of thought. They had themselves formed a sub-committee of the Conference's Committee on the Unity

[1] *Statement of the Patriarch* §6, p. 183.

of the Church, a large body, the personnel of which, under the Chairmanship of the Archbishop of York numbered no less than 73, *i.e.*, nearly a fourth of the plenum of the Conference, and included such watchful and active leaders of Anglican Liberalism and Evangelicalism as the Bishop of Ripon and the Bishops of Bradford and Croydon. That committee had not only adopted the *resumé* of the statements in which the elucidation had been summarized but had also identified itself with the sub-committee's Report of its discussions with the Delegation of which that *resumé* was an epitome.

Finally in its Resolution 33 (c) the plenum of the Conference had implemented the elucidation as a " sufficient account " of the teaching of the Anglican Churches in regard to the matters discussed.

In sum, when the Delegation dissolved, its members were able to report, each to his home authorities, that it had tabled the request for an elucidation of Anglican dogmatic teaching upon those points on which some of the Orthodox Churches required satisfaction before accepting Anglican Orders as valid, that that elucidation had occupied the field of its discussion with the Anglican bishops exclusively, that it had probed the answers given it by every supplementary question which occurred to it and that one and all of its members had expressed themselves as fully satisfied with the elucidation made.

All that being so, it can hardly be otherwise than that on their side the Orthodox autokephalous churches will proceed either at a Pan Orthodox Pro Synod, or by individual action to implement the declarations of the Delegation.

As I pointed out in my first article, the key salient in the advance of two Churches towards Union is the mutual acceptance of ministries ; if, therefore, as under the circumstances we are entitled to do, we may expect the collective acceptance of the validity of Anglican Orders by the Whole Orthodox Church in the near future, the achievement of the Delegation will have been to have cleared away that difficulty and to have opened the road to the solidarity between the two Churches which must precede the final discussion of their Union.

Two Governing Principles of Discussion.

But far-reaching and historic though that achievement seems likely to prove, I venture to be sure that the Delegation rendered an even greater and more remarkable service to the cause of Reunion by the method by which it got past the prejudices and misconceptions of which I have spoken, and bringing the Anglican and Orthodox Churches as it were face to face in a clear atmosphere, demonstrated that on all dogmatic points essential for the purpose in hand, sc. essential for the mutual acceptance of Ministries, they are in adequate agreement.

In particular, in that method it proceeded on two principles which, if they be adopted as governing precedents, will, one way or the other, make future discussions unambiguous and decisive.

When stated, both those principles are obvious and it is apparent that discussions which are not governed by them must be futile, if not mischievous.

None the less, it is the case that the indurated prejudice as to Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic agreement being impossible, has been reinforced no less among the Orthodox than among Anglicans, just because without being aware of the fact, they have not applied those two principles in the past.

Both of them are described by the Patriarch Meletios with his usual downrightness in sections 21 and 23 of his Report. They are : (1) *To use technical English theological terms as equivalents for technical Greek theological terms is to invite misunderstanding and, therefore, attempts to reach dogmatic agreements must be made in other than technical language and* (2) *that the dogmatic position of both churches must be stated in terms of their central dogmatic traditions and that, over and above the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, nothing should be put forward by the representatives of either church which is not supported by the general consensus of its theologians.*

Strictly, no doubt the latter of these principles ought to be stated first but in my own experience, at least in the initial stages of discussion, the ignoring the former is the more mischievous.

No Exact English Equivalents for Modern Greek Theological Terms.

If the General Reunion discussions which have happily been to the fore since the Great War, have not taught us the danger of using terms which cover conflicting conceptions, nothing will ever teach it us. To realize how great a setback can be inflicted upon the drawing together of the Churches by the attempt to rush matters by drafting formulæ of agreement which admittedly conceal unreconciled contradictions, it is necessary only to read the Declaration which the Orthodox made at Lausanne in 1927.[1] Plainly, such formulæ can lead nowhither. The paragraphs[2] in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Lausanne Reports, which urge that no progress can be made in Reunion discussions until the significance of primary terms such as Church, churches, Union and so forth be fixed are unchallengeable.

Every Scylla has its Charybdis.

If technical terms can be so used as by covering disagreement to

[1] *Faith and Order, Lausanne*, 1927, pp. 382–5, S.C.M., 1927.
[2] *Report of the Archbishops' Committee on the Lausanne Reports*, p. 17, Church Assembly Press and Publications Board, 1930.

suggest agreement where there is no real agreement, *they can also be so used as by concealing agreement to suggest that disagreement exists where there is no real disagreement.*

Happily, both the Orthodox Delegation and the Anglican Bishops with whom it held discussions, were well aware that they had to safeguard themselves against that danger.

There is need here neither to dwell upon the difference of categories in which Greek Theology and Latin Theology developed nor to show that even in the first centuries the Greek and Latin theological terms which were commonly used in translation of each other, by no means always possessed identity of content.

If it be conceded for our present purpose—and it is a great concession—that so long as the Church was undivided, those stock Greek and Latin theological terms which had become specialized as equivalents for each other, were broadly and adequately so equivalent, there can be no question but that in the past nine hundred years they have ceased to be so.

Though Greek Theology has acquired many new terms since the death of St. John Damascene, the backbone of its terminology remains that which it was in the ninth century. Certainly, it has stereotyped new *nuances* into the contents of many patristic terms, so that it is remarkably unsafe for an English patristic scholar to translate mediæval or modern Greek theological books simply on the strength of his familiarity with the writings of the Greek fathers. For whereas many theological terms were used by the Greek fathers with varying shades of meaning, in modern Greek Theology those terms are used with simpler and more precised meaning. So that, if an Anglican translator who, rendering a term used in modern Greek Theology, does not know the precise shade of meaning in which that term is now used, selects that particular shade of meaning from its many possible shades of meaning which suits his theological outlook, he risks making a very misleading translation.

None the less—for neither in form nor content has Orthodox theology undergone a period of marked change or development—and broadly speaking, as the Orthodox use them, the patristic terms which have been passed into mediæval and modern Greek Theology possess much the same contents as they had in the days of the Œcumenical Councils.

On the other hand, whatever may be judged of it, Western Theology has been the reverse of static for the past nine hundred years. In consequence, just as a composite photograph presents a single picture, but a picture which is the result of many exposures, so particular Latin terms which, in the age of the fathers, were broadly equivalent to particular Greek terms, have come to possess a significance which, as it were, is the resultant composite expression of all the phases, mediæval, scholastic, post Tridentine and so on, through

which Western Theology has evolved and which have produced twentieth century Roman Catholicism.

Among Roman Catholics, when precised authentically, those terms have a single and fixed significance. When used popularly, they have a wider and less determinate significance. Construed by Protestants, they often have a significance which Roman Catholics repudiate.

But with whatever significance they are used at the present day, they have ceased to be actually equivalent to the Greek terms to which a thousand years ago they were adequately equivalent and, if used nowadays to translate those terms as they are used in mediæval or modern Greek Theology, at the least they risk misrepresenting that Theology and on occasion compel it to negate itself.

The Scholastic Infiltration into Orthodoxy.

The Fall of Constantinople and the final wiping out of the Eastern Holy Roman Empire in 1453 consummated the complete subjugation —Russia and those parts of Greece which were held by Latins, only excepted—of Eastern Christendom to Islam. Russian Theology does not really begin until the seventeenth century, and under the grinding conditions of Moslem helotage, even a meagre training of the Orthodox clergy became difficult, so that anything like active Orthodox theological movement became paralysed for at least two centuries.

In consequence, throughout the sixteenth and seventeen centuries many Greeks, with Roumanian, Serb, Bulgar and other Orthodox, pursued their theological studies in Italian and other European universities. Moreover, the opportunity of the weakness of the Orthodox Church was not unnaturally utilized at the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuits and by other Papal propagandists for a persistent and uncompromising proselytization. Also large numbers of Orthodox youth resorted to the schools[1] which were established in Constantinople itself and in other Orthodox centres within the Turkish dominions by Papalist religious orders.

The infiltration of scholastic influences into the current Orthodox theology which resulted in the seventeenth century was considerable. Although the number of Orthodox writers who were actually inoculated with scholastic conceptions was relatively few, a vogue of stating Orthodox teaching in scholastic categories set in among Greek theologians, and—a distinctive Russian theology only becomes notable in the latter half of the seventeenth century—for a time permeated the writings of Slav theologians. The region of that

[1] Roman Catholic propagandists in the Near East enjoyed not only the prestige of the protection but the full support of France, the kings of which received and exercised the right and function of a Protectorate in the interests of the Papacy in the Turkish dominions. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that, in spite of French anticlericalism, Republican France remains as tenacious of that prized and politically valuable Protectorate as was ever Royalist France.

infiltration was confined very largely to the doctrine of the Sacraments, and even in that region its process was neither complete nor universal. None the less, it came about that a more or less settled Greek terminology was gradually improvised whereby to express Latin scholastic sacramental concepts, such as substance, accidents, matter, form and so on.

So foreign to each other, however, were the logical deductions of scholasticism and the free categories of Orthodoxy, that, with few exceptions, terms which could be wrested for use as equivalents to the Latin terms adopted by scholasticism, were absent from Greek terminology and had to be borrowed from the Real philosophers. Of the few terms which were available, none that were of importance was current in Greek Theology before the Great Schism.

In consequence, on first reading Orthodox theological documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, indeed, many Orthodox dogmatic treatises of the present day,[1] the impression is given that Orthodox dogmatic teaching is cognate to Scholasticism—an impression of which Roman Catholic writers such as Dr. Adrian Fortescue, doubtless in all good faith, make great use in their contention that dogmatic agreement between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches is out of the question.

The Avoidance of Scholastic Terms in the Discussions.

As has been remarked above, the usage, without careful definition, of technical terms which have different significances to the parties in a dogmatic discussion, can produce the appearance of disagreement where agreement exists no less than of agreement where disagreement exists.

The avoidance of such confusion in the Delegation's discussions at Lambeth was peculiarly necessary not only in order to reach an issue but to make that issue understandable by the general Anglican and Orthodox public.

The play of Western theological development during the past thousand years has deprived many Greek and Latin theological terms of the equivalence which they possessed approximately in patristic times. None the less, those Greek and Latin terms still continue to be used as reciprocally equivalent, and ignoring the shifting of the significance of the Latin terms, most English translators of modern Greek theological works continue to render the Greek terms by the stock English equivalents of those Latin terms which were formerly their equivalents.

[1] This is particularly the case with modern Greek theologians (see the "Lectures on the Sacraments," in Gavin's *Modern Greek Orthodox Thought*). Since the initiative of Philaret of Moscow in the middle of the last century, the Slav Churches have been persistent in their effort to rid themselves not only of Latin scholastic terms which have come into their languages as loan words, but also of Greek loan words which have acquired scholastic associations.

The result, of course, is that Orthodoxy is presented to the English reader in a quasi-Latin verbal dress which invites its confusion with Roman Catholicism and which, since the English terms have often acquired predominantly mediæval and scholastic associations, saddles Orthodoxy with the very categories and conceptions which in general it strenuously rejects and repudiates.

In framing its questions, the Delegation, though not with absolute success in the second of them, was at pains to avoid the possibility of such misunderstanding.

In short, the Delegation got at the minds of the Anglican Bishops and the Anglican Bishops got at its mind, because each side was careful to explain exactly what it meant by the terms which it employed.

But the task before the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops was more than to reach agreements. They had to express their agreements in statements which could not be misconstrued by the ordinary reader. And, in particular, they had to remember that if a suggestion of scholasticism could be read into those statements, extreme sections of Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals would be stampeded into an unreasonableness which might be deaf to any subsequent disclaimer.

The Alexandrian Synod's Resolution.

How successfully they obviated that danger is evidenced not only by the fact that the statements of the *resumé* remained without public challenge or serious criticism from the most extreme Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals until the publication of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution accepting Anglican Ordinations in January last.

When I sat down to make the official translation of that Resolution, which in due course was authenticated for publication,[1] I felt that I was wholly inadequate to my task. In it the Alexandrian Holy Synod had declared that in the statements made by the Bishop of Gloucester and other Anglican Bishops to the Delegation and duly implemented by the plenum of the Conference as "a sufficient account of the teaching"[2] of the Anglican Church, it had found a "complete and satisfying assurance" upon the four points until it received an elucidation of which, in common with the Roumanian and other Orthodox autokephalous Churches, it had deferred taking a decision upon the possibility of the acceptance of Anglican Orders as valid from the Orthodox point of view.

[1] For the Greek original and my translation see p. 184. The Archbishop of Thyatira collaborated with me.

[2] The "genuine account" of my translation instances the perils which beset the translator. In his account of the Delegation's visit in *Pantænos* the Deacon Rosmares renders "*sufficient*" by ἀκριβής. Now ἀκριβής, which is a very common word in modern Greek with many *nuances*, has for its central meaning *generally accurate*, which is just what I take it the "*sufficient account*" of the Lambeth Conference Resolution meant. In order to escape misconstruction, we decided to render it by *genuine*. To have done so by *precise* would have violated its significance.

But it had epitomized those four points by terms three of which, while in Greek they are devoid of mediæval scholastic associations, have stock English equivalents which suggest those associations.

As I rendered them, those four terms are :—

(1) The Apostolic Succession.
(2) The Real Reception of the Lord's Body and Blood (in the Eucharist).
(3) The Eucharist being a *thusia hilasterios*.
(4) Ordination being a *Mystery*.

Of course, the two last of those renderings are transliterations and not translations.

The Apostolic Succession.

Certainly Apostolic Succession is as etymologically exact an equivalent for ἀποστολική διαδοχή as it is by traditional usage a conventional equivalent. But Apostolic Succession is also both the etymological and the conventional equivalent for *Successio Apostolica*. As such it not only covers, but is very liable to be taken as presenting, that mediæval and scholastic theory which is popularly conceived as postulating that any man upon whom under any circumstances three bishops—or even one bishop—so consecrated themselves, have laid hands with the intention to make him a bishop, *eo ipso* receives indelibly the character of a successor of the Apostles, and with that character powers which under no circumstances can lapse or be forfeited.

The case, however, is not only that the mediæval and scholastic theories of the *Successio Apostolica* have no place in the stream of Orthodox tradition but that they are incompatible with the General Orthodox conception of the ἀποστολική διαδοχή.

Of course, the Orthodox possess external or canonical criteria deciding whether the Orders of an individual ministry or the Ministry of a particular non-Orthodox Church, can be pronounced to be in the Apostolic Succession. Whether or not, theoretically, those criteria could be dispensed with ; for practical purposes no Orthodox theologian is prepared to consider the possibility of dispensing with them. But to the Orthodox mind, the external or canonical side of the Apostolic Succession is quite secondary to its internal or spiritual side. The Orthodox know nothing of an *Ecclesia Docens* and an *Ecclesia Discens*. To them the Ministry is an organ of the body of the Church but is in no way to be treated as an institution that can be contrasted with it. At his consecration a Bishop does not receive an indelible *character*. He receives a *charisma*, but he receives it for an office and for the functions of that office. When there arises the question of accepting in his orders a bishop or other minister who accedes to Orthodoxy, the decision turns upon the conception of the office and function of a

Bishop in the Church from which he derives his Orders far more than upon whether the necessary canonical and external criteria were satisfied in his consecration.

A very large, if not a preponderant, stream of Orthodox theological opinion holds traditionally that however indisputable the criteria of the external or canonical side of his ordination, a bishop or other minister acceding to Orthodoxy may be treated at discretion as not being in Orders and the reconsecration of Bishops of the Roman Obedience is not unknown among the Orthodox.

In short, the Orthodox Apostolic Succession has nothing mechanical about it. If Orders is a link with the Apostles, it is so because since the Bishops are the chief pastors to whom under the One Shepherd the feeding and the rule of the Flock is committed, and by whom the Faith is to be safeguarded and precised by the Holy Spirit working in the whole body of the Church, their office and function are identical with the office and function which Christ committed to the Apostles.

The four questions the answers to which the Alexandrian Holy Synod describe as having been " a complete and satisfying assurance " as to the ἀποστολική διαδοχή were directed to ascertain whether (1) its Episcopate is the organ by which the Anglican Church precises and safeguards the Faith and whether Orders is held by the Anglican Church not to be the appointment of the Ordinand to a particular post but the conferring of a special *charisma* upon him for the office and function to which he is called by the Spirit working in the Church, and (2) the Anglican rites of Ordination and Consecration with their strict requirement of Prayer and the Laying on of Hands by canonically consecrated Bishops are devised in order to preserve and to demonstrate the unbroken succession in the Anglican Church of those three Orders of ministers, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, " which, it is evident, have been in Christ's Church from the beginning."

Accordingly, to translate on the equation ἀποστολική διαδχή equals *Successio Apostolica*, which in turn equals Apostolic Succession, is to risk making the ordinary Anglican imagine that the Alexandrian Holy Synod was satisfied and assured that the Anglican Church is committed to the quasi-mechanical, mediæval scholastic theory of Apostolic Succession. Whereas that as to which it was satisfied and assured was that the Anglican Church is essentially in agreement with Orthodox dogmatic teaching, by which the office and function of the threefold Ministry of Bishop, Priest and Deacon have been sustained by the operation of the Holy Spirit in Christ's Church since the days of the Apostles and that that sustentation is truly and conclusively symbolized by the Laying on of Hands with Prayers by bishops who, in that they have received the special *charisma* and in like manner have been set apart for the episcopal office themselves, are rightly to be recognized as Successors of the Apostles.

If, then, I translated ἀποστολική διαδχή by Apostolic Succession,

I felt that I ought not to have translated that which can only be rendered by a periphrasis, but in transliterating it ought to have appended a long note which would have shown that the essential dogmatic requisite of the Orthodox Church for the recognition of our Orders is one which only an extremely sectionally minded Anglican Evangelical or Liberal could refuse to meet and which minimizes the demand that *mutatis mutandis* a very large section of Anglo-Catholics might put forward.

It was the same when I came to translate the Greek terms which I rendered by (1) " a Real Reception of the Lord's Body and Blood " and (2) " as to Ordination being a Mystery."

Ordination a " Mystery."

In regard to the latter, the Latin *Sacramentum* being the stock equivalent for the Greek *Mysterion*, the equation seems inevitable, *Mysterion* equals *Sacramentum* equals Sacrament.

But two considerations forbade me to translate on that equation. On the one hand, the mediæval and scholastic analysis of a Sacrament with its categories of form, matter, minister, recipient, etc., has always been repudiated and rejected by a great body of Orthodox theological opinion as an unscriptural and unprimitive innovation and almost certainly is to be reckoned not as among the *theologoumena*[1] of Orthodox dogmatic tradition, but at most as a personal opinion. Therefore, if I had translated *Mysterion* by *Sacramentum*, I must have appended a long note explaining that the Orthodox Delegation had been so far from asking whether the Anglican Church accepted the categories of the Latin mediæval and scholastic theory of the Sacraments, that if the Anglican Bishops had stated that theory as embodying the Anglican dogmatic tradition, the Delegation would almost certainly have declared that agreement was out of the question and that further discussion would be purposeless.

On the other hand, in considerations of this kind, the point of departure often determines the plane of thought.

Even the Anglican definition of a Sacrament as the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual Grace tends to give over-emphasis to the necessity of the fixed externals which are ordained as necessarily concomitant symbols of the imparting of inward and spiritual Grace by the Holy Spirit in the Sacraments. If no Orthodox theologians envisage even the theoretical possibility of dispensing with those externals, all Orthodox theologians begin by thinking of a *Mysterion* as the imparting of Grace—of a *charisma*—by the working of the Holy Spirit, to the faithful who seek it from the Saviour. If they look for the externals, they look for them as *canonical* symbols of the covenanted mercies of God, *i.e.*, as symbols which are necessary

[1] See below p. 169.

because being found in Holy Scripture they have always been observed and required in the Church.

In consequence, if the deduction that where and when the outward and visible signs of a *Mysterion*—*i.e.*, of a Sacrament—are to be found fully and faithfully completed, there and then the covenanted grace or *charisma* must *eo ipso* be imparted, were pressed upon them, they would almost certainly reject the logic and would extricate themselves from the discussion as having led them into planes of thought and reasoning foreign to the traditional categories of Orthodoxy.

Thus for the great body of Orthodox theologians the point of departure in regard to Orders—***mutatis mutandis*** it is the same in regard to Baptism and the other five ordinances which they cover with the particular term *Mysteria*—is that a special Grace or *Charisma* is given and is received therein. Their concern is as to the whence and the wherefore of that *charisma*. As to its whereby, its how and its when, they possess neither dogmatic precisions nor a precising tradition. That there never was a time since the days of the Apostles when the characteristic external features of an Ordination were not the Laying on of Hands with Prayer and its minister a bishop, is agreed by them all, and nothing short of a decision by an Œcumenical Council could induce them to treat its being other than integral and necessary to the external side of the *Mysterion* as an open question.[1]

But while they are practically unanimous in regarding the canonical, external side of Ordination as indispensable, their vital concern is rather its internal, spiritual side, sc. with the giving and receiving of the special *charisma* for the work and office of a Bishop, Priest or Deacon.

How greatly the categories of Orthodox sacramental thought are in contrast with Scholasticism is well illustrated, indeed, by the words which in the Orthodox rite accompany the Laying on of Hands: "*The Grace of God, which ever maketh the weak strong and filleth the empty, chooses and calls N. the most religious sub-deacon to be deacon. Therefore let us pray on his behalf that the Holy Spirit may come to him.*"

In that "form" no words such as our *Receive the Holy Ghost* can be interpreted as fixing the moment of the giving and receiving the *charisma* and, certainly, the main stream of Orthodox dogmatic teaching makes no such precision.

"The Real Reception."

Just because Real Reception is not a stock Anglican term, the mere utterance of which challenges party prejudice, the translation of

[1] The opinion of Professor Dyovouniotes of Athens that the acceptance of non-episcopally ordained ministers is not outside the range of economy (*Ta Hepta Mystura*, p. 162–3, Athens), appears to demand the premise that the necessity of the Laying on of Hands is not a dogmatic necessity.

pragmatike metalepsis was less difficult than the translation of *apostolike diadoche* and of *mysterion*.

In modern Greek, *pragmatikos* is used in ordinary speech for real in the sense of actual, factual. But the modern usage of *metalepsis* is absolutely confined to sacramental Communion in the Eucharist and—the *meta* carries the same mystical significance as the *cum* in communion—would have better been rendered by an *act of communion* than by *reception* or *participation*, its nearer linguistic equivalents.

I translated, however, not by "*Real Act of Communion*," but by "*Real reception*," for this reason.

The assurance which the Delegation needed for the purpose in hand was that the Anglican Church does not hold that the Eucharist, being a mere commemoration by figurative representation of the Last Supper, the Bread and Wine "become unto us the Body and Blood of Christ" only in an emblematic sense but that it holds that, the Eucharist being an actual extension of the Last Supper by perpetual representation, the Bread and Wine "become unto us" the true Body and the true Blood of Christ in a mystic or sacramental sense.

Thanks to the excellent first hand knowledge of the Anglican complex possessed by several of its members, the Delegation was well aware of the quicksands between which in putting its question it had to steer.

If it could not be satisfied with an answer which could be construed as covering a Memorialist or purely subjective Receptionist conception of Christ's Body and Blood, it had to make its enquiry in a fashion which the Anglican Bishops could not misconstrue as asking them to accept mediæval and scholastic conceptions.

As the Patriarch Meletios records in his 21st section, it knew that "Anglicans have no hesitation in accepting St. John Chrysostom's statement that the Bread and Wine are made to be[1] Christ's Body and Blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but they reject the term, Transubstantiation (metousiosis) as being bound up in Scholastic Theology with materialistic conceptions."

Now, it is true both that the infiltration of Scholasticism to which reference has been made above, produced a certain adoption of Scholastic terminology and of Scholastic logic by Orthodox theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that both continue to have vogue in a measure among present day, and especially among Greek Orthodox theologians. In consequence, as has been observed, it would be easy by a careful selection of terms and phrases to formulate the traditional dogmatic teaching of the Orthodox Church in language which would give the impression

[1] The *poiountai* of the Alexandrian Resolution equals *fiant*. See also Archbishop Nectarie's Roumania rendering of it, *devin* equals *become*.

that, to all effects, it is identical with that of modern Roman Catholicism.

In fact in a transliterated form the word Transubstantiation actually crept into Orthodox Theology in the Middle Ages and is still used by many Greek theologians as equivalent to the term *metousiosis* which first appears in Greek Theology in the last decade of the thirteenth century.[1] In general as Roman Catholics use the term Transubstantiation and as the Orthodox use the term *Metousiosis* they are the reverse of equivalent but rather belong to different categories which are in antinomy.

The Patriarch Meletios, of course, wrote his statement for Orthodox readers, and if he coupled the terms Transubstantiation and *Metousiosis* as alike unacceptable to Anglicans, it was to show that in spite of the difference between the Roman Catholic conception of Transubstantiation and the Orthodox conception of *Metousiosis*, the ordinary Anglican identifies them.

Alike by its linguistic value and by its theological usage Transubstantiation predicates an elemental change *in* the Bread and Wine which the Orthodox regard as repugnant both to Holy Scripture and to the dogmatic teaching of the Fathers.

On the other hand, *metousiosis* predicates a mystical change *of* the Bread and Wine, a change which, to use the language of our 28th Article, is " only after an heavenly and spiritual manner."

Thus, as is well known, extraliturgical services of devotion and adoration of the Reserved Sacrament are altogether foreign to Orthodox tradition and practice and, though I have myself contended[2] that in principle the Orthodox could neither condemn them nor require their abandonment by Rome as a condition of Reunion, I am bound to admit that I have been taken sharply to task, therefore, by Orthodox theologians of authority.[3]

It is thus that no less for those Greek Orthodox theologians who employ Transubstantiation as an equivalent for *Metousiosis*,[4] than

[1] Since the above was written, I have received a letter, dated March 11th, 1931, in which Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens says, " I do not omit to repeat what has been repeatedly said, that the Orthodox Church may use certain terms which are also in use in the Latin Church. That, however, in no way means that there is also a corresponding agreement of Orthodox doctrine with the scholastic interpretations of the Middle Ages. The Orthodox mind, for instance, though it uses the term ' *Metoussiosis*,' employs it in the meaning of the terms ' *metapoiisis*,' ' *metarrythmisis*,' which are used by the old Church, and does not ascribe to it the known Latin interpretation." The *meta* in *metapoiisis* and *metarrythmisis* denotes that the " becoming " or " change " is after a spiritual and heavenly manner.

[2] *The Orthodox and Reservation*, Faith Press, 1928.

[3] During the visit of the Delegation, the Patriarch Meletios gave frequent emphatic and incisive expression to his regret that such services obtain in some Anglican Churches. I record this not because I agree with the general Orthodox opinion, but as illustrating their outlook in the matter.

[4] The Greek Dyovouniotes says the " Western Church uses it to expound ' its theory of the mode of the change,' but the Eastern Church ' simply to state the fact of the change.' "

for those who have followed Philaret of Moscow[1] in ruling it out of Russian theology, the purpose of Reservation is for the Communion of the Sick.

So far as I know no Orthodox theologian has demurred to the generalization of our 28th Article that, " The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped."

Accordingly, in regard to the Bread and Wine becoming Christ's Body and Blood, the maximum requirement which the most stringent of Orthodox Theologians could require is far more than met by section 8 in the Declaration[2] which was made by some of us in 1922 to the Œcumenical Patriarch. That section runs :

> " We affirm that, by consecration in the Eucharist, the bread " and wine, being blessed by the life-giving power of the Holy " Spirit, are changed and become the true body and the true blood " of Christ, and as such are given to and received by the faithful. . . . " As to the actual manner of the change, and of the mode of the " presence, no doctrine on this point is laid down by any Œcumen- " ical Council, and therefore, while believing the fact, we do not " venture to define the mode. There is here a divine mystery " which passes human understanding."[3]

The Delegation was aware, however, that to speak of the Bread and Wine being " changed " suggests to many Anglicans the mediæval scholastic theory that by the utterances of the priest of the words, Take eat, This is My Body, etc.,[4] a change is effected *in* the Bread and Wine, their " substance " becoming Christ's Body and Blood and only their " accidents " of extension, colour, taste, etc., remaining.

Accordingly, it refrained from the use of terms such as *metathesis*, *metabole*, *metapoiesis*, which we translate change and which signify that the Bread and Wine are made to be the Body and Blood of Christ by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Nor because of the association of the phrase in Anglican domestic controversy did they use *pragmatike parousia*, *i.e.*, actual or real Presence.

All that they required to ascertain for their immediate purpose was

[1] His almost dramatic deletion of the transliteration of *Transubstantiation* from the Russian version of Mogila's Catechism, which as (see p. 189) among seventeenth Orthodox documents is peculiarly tinged with scholastic phraseology, should reassure those Anglicans who imagine that the Orthodox Church has adopted the " materialistic conception, bound up in Scholastic Theology " with the term *Transubstantiation*.

[2] Avowedly that Declaration gave no more than the interpretation of the Anglican position held by those who signed it and did not claim to speak for the whole Church of England.

[3] G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity*, 1920–24, p. 92.

[4] As is well known, the Orthodox hold dogmatically that the Bread and Wine become the Lord's Body and Blood not at the utterance of these words, but on the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which in their Prayer of Consecration precedes ours, the Words of Institution.

that Anglicans speak of the Bread and Wine becoming Christ's Body and Blood, not in a figurative but in a real, if mystical, sense.

Therefore, they avoided raising the question of a change in the Bread and Wine and reached their end by asking whether in the Anglican Church the Consecrated Bread and Wine are regarded as still remaining Christ's Body and Blood after Communion.

The answer that they continue to be "regarded sacramentally,"[1] satisfied them that the Anglican dogmatic position leaves no room for Memorialist or purely subjective Receptionist theories.

That is why in its Resolution the Alexandrian Synod speaks of the Orthodox requirement as to Christ's Presence in the Eucharist having been met by a satisfactory statement not as to the change of the Bread and Wine but as to their Real Reception.

"Thusia Hilasterios."

If the renderings which I gave to *diadoche apostolike* and *pragmatike metalepsis* in the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution are patient of misconstruction, it was impossible to find a rendering for *thusia hilasterios* which would not raise a hornet's nest.

After all, *Apostolic Succession* is familiar enough to English ears to which it carries no necessarily controversial significance. If unfamiliar, *Real Reception* is self explanatory and could challenge no one except the extreme Memorialist.

It was very different with *thusia hilasterios*, for which a dictionary translation gives only *propitiatory sacrifice* or *expiatory sacrifice*.

To use either was out of the question.

Expiatory Sacrifice being novel to the ordinary reader would have frightened them even if accompanied by a lengthy excursus on Expiation.

Propitiatory Sacrifice certainly belongs to ordinary English speech. But it would be hardly possible to apply a term to the Eucharist which would be more provocative to extremely sectionally minded Anglican Evangelicals and Liberals. With even careful safeguards as to its meaning, few Anglicans of any school of thought would be happy in using it.

For if, as the Patriarch Meletios was warranted in saying in the 21st section of his report, "The Anglican Church agrees with the Orthodox doctrine that the Eucharist is a *thusia hilasterios*," it is also true that "it refuses to use the term *propitiatory* in stating that doctrine inasmuch as its association suggests the errors of Purgatory and of the transition, at the Pope's pleasure, of souls from Purgatory to Paradise."

Of course, I do not take responsibility for the attribution of such

[1] Of course, the Lambeth Conference used, and the Orthodox understood, *regarded* in the sense of "held to be."

conceptions even to the popular mediæval and scholastic doctrines of the Eucharist and of Purgatory. Nor is it my business to demonstrate here that the Tridentine precisions of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are incompatible with the main body of Orthodox dogmatic teaching upon it.

My present concern is limited to showing that *thusia hilasterios* carries with it none of those materialistic conceptions which, rightly or wrongly, *sacrificium propitiatorium* calls up to English minds and that if instead of transliterating it in my translation of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution, I had rendered it by *propitiatory sacrifice* I should have made that Synod misrepresent itself, no less than the Delegation and the Lambeth Conference.

As has been emphasized above, the Delegation's question on the Eucharist was not drafted to ascertain whether Anglican dogmatic teaching is fully in agreement with Orthodox dogmatic teaching, but was drafted in a minimal form in order to ascertain that sufficient agreement exists to warrant the Orthodox Churches in accepting Anglican Orders.

As I pointed out in the first of these articles and, as will be evident to anyone who reads the masterly summary of the history of the Orthodox investigation into the Validity of Anglican Ordinations[1] which, not because I am its translator, but because it interprets the Orthodox mind most lucidly, I am bold to urge my readers to buy, a prime cause of the hesitation of Orthodox theologians to declare Anglican Orders to be in every way capable of acceptance has been a lingering doubt as to whether the Anglican Eucharist is not a " nude commemoration " of the Last Supper.

To remove that doubt finally, all that was necessary was for the Lambeth Conference to declare explicitly (1) that the Anglican Church believes the Bread and Wine to become Christ's Body and Blood, not in a figurative sense but even though mystically and in a heavenly and spiritual manner, in very fact, and (2) that it holds that the Eucharist is indeed a sacrifice, again not in a figurative sense, but in the sense that in it the minister and the people who conjoin with him in its Celebration do not merely commemorate the Sacrifice of the Cross but are conjoined with Christ in presenting anew " that full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction " which He consummated, once and for all thereon.

As has been noted above the first of those two requirements was met, as I venture to believe, adequately and conclusively by clear statements which the Bishops who made them were confident that, except the extremely sectionally minded, all Anglicans would agree. Those statements went no farther in precision than to satisfy the Delegation that the Anglican Communion does not teach a Memorialism or a

[1] *The Validity of Anglican Ordinations*, Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Metropolitan of Athens, Faith Press, 1931, price 2s.

purely subjective Receptionism, but teaches that the Bread and Wine become the very Body and Blood of the Lord not in a figurative sense but in a sense in which their reception is to be described as a *Real Reception* of the Lord's Body and Blood.

In like manner, the Delegation accepted its second requirement as adequately and conclusively met by this quotation from the Reply of the English Archbishops to Leo XIII., "We truly teach the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and do not believe it to be a 'nude commemoration' of the Sacrifice of the Cross. We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ who is our Advocate with the Father and the propitiation for our sins, according to His precept, until His coming again. For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; then next we plead and represent before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we plead and represent before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblations of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the Priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."[1]

As is recorded, however, by the Patriarch Meletios,[2] the Delegation had formulated its requirement in the question, Does the Anglican Church accept that . . . the oblation of the Divine Eucharist is a spiritual *thusia hilasterios* for the living and dead?" And, as is recorded in the summary of the Discussions,[3] that question at once evoked a plain statement that "it had been necessary for the Church of England to guard against the error that the one Sacrifice offered by Our Lord on the Cross, could, in any way be repeated."

In other words, the Anglican Bishops made it "plain," as the Patriarch Meletios puts it, that Anglicans will not apply "propitiatory sacrifice" to the Eucharist and repudiate the "materialistic conceptions" attached to *sacrificium propitiatorium*.

The Orthodox, however, reject those materialistic conceptions with a vigour no less than any Anglican's. In general, the rendering the Eucharist with a special intention of any kind whatever is unknown among them. In particular they approve our 31st Article's trenchant condemnation of "the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt."

For them the offering of the Eucharist is a *thusia hilasterios*, a propitiatory sacrifice in the sense and only in the sense that in every Eucharist Christ Himself, Who is the only Priest and Victim—*ho*

[1] As quoted in *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 136.
[2] Section 13. The question is not given in *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930.
[3] *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, p. 136.

anapheron kai ho anapheromenos—represents and pleads in fact and in deed the propitiation which He Himself wrought once and for all upon the Cross. As they use the term, it can have no need to be safeguarded against the idea of a mechanical *opus operatum* and any materialistic conception.[1]

In putting the above question, the Delegation was not asking for a full and precised statement of Anglican teaching on the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Its purpose was simply to make sure that the Anglican Communion accepts the Eucharist not merely as a sacrifice in figure but as a sacrifice in fact.

Accordingly, it was satisfied that its requirement had been met by the answer recorded and the Alexandrian Synod summed up that answer as a satisfactory assurance that Anglicans regard the Eucharist as a *thusia hilasterios*.

The Living and the Dead.

Since, as has been noted above, the rendering the Eucharist with any special intention whatever is foreign to Orthodox tradition, the *thusia hilasterios for the living and the dead* of the Delegation's question could not in any sense have been analogous to Mass for the Dead.

But that it was not analogous to it is plain from the fact that the Delegation was satisfied with the answer that " in the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice the Anglican Church prays that ' by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion,' as including the whole company of faithful people, living and departed."

Orthodox dogmatic teaching does not categorize the state of the departed and among the major innovations upon the primitive Faith with which the Orthodox indict Rome, is its Purgatorial doctrine. Orthodox theology has no terms corresponding to Church Militant, Church Expect, Church Triumphant. Indeed, the Orthodox mind cannot bear to conceive of the living and the dead as divided by sharp lines from each other.

In personal prayers and extra-liturgical services, prayer for departed individuals and for all the Departed is offered among the Orthodox

[1] That which the Delegation intended to cover by the term and, *ex sequitur* that which the Alexandrian Synod intended to cover, is shown by the statement of the Patriarch Meletios recorded in the Minutes of the Discussions, see next issue. " The Patriarch stated that the Orthodox doctrine was that one propitiatory Sacrifice was once offered for the whole world by Christ to the Father; that in the Eucharist that Sacrifice was presented to the Father. The Eucharist might therefore be called the offering of that Sacrifice, and the uniting with that Sacrifice on Calvary of those partaking in the Eucharist. But such an offering was in no sense a repeating. No Orthodox theologian ever taught that a priest celebrating the Holy Liturgy obtained by his action remission of sins, for that was the work of the Divine Mercy and if the Anglican Church wished for an Orthodox formulary repudiating Roman doctrine on that point and on the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, it could be provided."

and at times in terms which very many Anglicans would not admit. But whatever customs of the kind have been developed in popular practice, the living and the departed are bound together inseparably for the Orthodox in the mystic unity of the Whole Church. Each prays for all and all for each. The dead child for the living mother, the saint departed for the sinner in earth and the sinner for the saint. The concept of the Epistle to the Hebrews[1] prevails in reference to the Blessed Virgin herself and the Apostles "that they without us should not be made perfect." The Eucharistic Sacrifice is pleaded alike for them and for the sinner living or departed, if not for "the remission of sins" at least for the other "benefits of Christ's Passion," to wit their consummation in Bliss and Grace in the day of the Lord's Appearing.

Lex orandi, lex credendi! The sense in which the Delegation asked whether the Anglican Church accepts the Eucharist as a *thusia hilasterios* for the living and the dead is defined by the Intercession which the celebrant offers immediately after that Epiklesis or Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Oblation of the Eucharist which the Orthodox unanimously regard as marking the consecration of the Bread and Wine to become Christ's Body and Blood.

That Intercession runs: "We offer this Reasonable Service for them that have gone to their rest in Peace, Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Ascetics and every righteous spirit made perfect in faith. Chiefly for our all holy, immaculate, highly blessed, glorious Lady, Theotokos and Evervirgin, Mary. And remember all those who have fallen asleep in hope of the resurrection of life eternal and give them rest, O our God, where the light of Thy countenance watcheth over them."[2]

Then it goes on to intercede for the living.

It is inconceivable that any Anglicans, except those who, being stampeded by their fear of that Romish doctrine of Purgatory which the Orthodox repudiate as emphatically as even our 22nd Article, condemn any and every prayer for the Departed, can challenge the statement of the Anglican Bishops which satisfied the Delegation or can reject as unscriptural the type of prayer for the Departed quoted above.

THEOLOGOUMENA.

I make no apology for the ample elbow room which I have appropriated in elucidating the terms employed by the Alexandrian Synod to sum up, and to sum up not for Anglicans but for the Orthodox, the Anglican answers to the Delegation's question.

The terms *Apostolic Succession, Mysterion, Real Reception, a thusia hilasterios for the Living and the Dead* have aroused a very under-

[1] Heb. x. 14.

[2] *The Divine Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, F. E. Brightman, pp. 47–9, Faith Press.

standable anxiety among others than those who are represented by the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, and from every point of view it is desirable that there should be no misapprehension as to what the Anglican Communion was committed by the Lambeth Conference and as to what it was not committed.

But over and above that, what I have written will serve to illustrate the importance of the two principles which the Delegation adopted in the Discussions.

As to the first, enough has been said above to show that while the usage of technical terms can easily produce the semblance of disagreement where no disagreement exists, a study of the *resumé* of the statements interchanged by the Delegation and our Bishops shows that a real and unambiguous agreement was reached at Lambeth by the avoidance of such terms.

The Patriarch Meletios' frank speech emboldens me to write very plainly in regard to the necessity of the second, viz., that in the discussion of Union between the Orthodox and Anglican Church, over and above the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, nothing should be put forward by the representatives of either, unless it is supported by the general consensus of its theologians.

That that principle was adopted also by the Anglican Bishops who conferred with the Delegation is no less obvious from a study of their statements than it was inevitable from their personnel which included representatives of every central school of thought in Anglicanism.

It is true that the existence in the Anglican Communion of contrasted schools of thought, which are often in the collision of sharp controversy, has led some Orthodox students of Anglicanism to the conclusion that the Anglican Church is a "comprehensive" Church in the sense that it does not possess a dogmatic tradition capable of precision, but authenticates as legitimate alternatives dogmatic positions which are in irreconcilable contradiction.

It is also true that they have been guided into and reinforced in that conclusion by Anglican writers who have declared such "comprehensiveness" to be both characteristic of the Anglican Communion and desirable in itself.

If the Anglican Communion may be described as comprehensive in the sense that it is tolerant of opinions which lie outside its dogmatic position, it cannot be described as comprehensive in the sense that all dogmatic teaching is alike to it.

Thus, there is every reason to be confident that, if and when the particular Anglican schools of thought get together in a clear atmosphere and, avoiding that technical terminology which furnishes our domestic controversies with their flags and munition, compare that which they respectively hold to be the dogmatic teaching of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles, they will agree (1) that

they share a common basic dogmatic position which is clearly formulated in those documents and (2) that fundamentally their mutual contradictions and oppositions consist in the conflicting interpretations which, in the light of Holy Scripture and of Christian tradition, they give to that position.

If this be so it is evident that the Anglican Communion does possess a central dogmatic position and, even though the less centrally minded members of the particular Anglican "schools of thought" regard their own interpretation of that position as exclusive, the more centrally minded regard other interpretations than their own as legitimate, if mistaken—provided always that those interpretations do not overthrow the essentially Scriptural and Catholic central dogmatic position which is the basis of Anglicanism.

In other words, we may categorize the broad stream of Anglican dogmatic teaching as consisting of (1) a central and authentic body of dogmatic teaching which is recognizable and can easily be precised and outside which the Anglican Communion requires its members to assent to nothing, and (2) a body of provisional opinions which interpret that central current and which, until a decision upon them is authoritatively precised, cannot be condemned but cannot be required of anyone.

Of course, I do not contend that the broad stream of Anglican dogmatic teaching is absolutely identical with the broad stream of Orthodox dogmatic teaching.

Even after excluding those extreme Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical and Liberal opinions which, though in apparent antinomy to authentic Anglican dogmatic teaching, are tolerated in the Anglican Communion, much in the nature of provisional opinion is left in the former which, if not incompatible with, is foreign to the latter.

The fact which I desire to bring into prominence here is this.

The Orthodox Church no more possesses an authenticated and precised summary of its dogmatic teaching than does the Anglican Communion. That is to say, over and above the limited dogmatic precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, the Orthodox Church possesses no dogmatic precisions whatever, and beyond that which the general Orthodox consensus pronounces to have been taught as authenticated by Holy Scripture and taught by the Fathers, nothing is to be accounted as belonging to the dogmatic teaching of the Orthodox Church.

The strictness with which the line must be drawn between Orthodox precised dogma and the theological opinions even of the weightiest of the Fathers is set out by Professor Zankow in this summary of the Russian Bolotov's investigation of the matter: "In his 'theses' he set forth the following: First, 'dogma' is the truth as determined by an Œcumenical Council. Second, '*theologoumenon*' is the theological opinion of one or many of the holy fathers of the undivided

Church. The content of the *theologoumena* is probable truth : anyone may adhere to a given *theologoumenon* until a competent church court has decided it to be faulty ; just as on the other side, no one can demand that a theologian should accept a *theologoumenon* as his private opinion. Of course, the number of the fathers who accept a given viewpoint of this nature has no significance as to its validity ; still, the greater the number who defend such a statement, the greater the probability of its truth. Third, and last, comes private theological opinion. In comparison with a *theologoumenon*, private opinion has no authority. Each one is free in his personal opinion, but limited by the requirement that private opinion shall not conflict with dogma. The dogmas are '*necessaria*,' the *theologoumena*, '*dubia*' : '*In necessariis, unitas in dubiis, libertas.*' "[1]

Of course, that categorization in no way warrants the inference that the Orthodox Church is a comprehensive Church in the sense that it is open to its members to hold and to teach any and every opinion which approves itself to them.

On the contrary, the body of the *theologoumena* or theological opinions of the fathers with which as a *lex credendi* the Liturgies and other Orthodox Service books must be coupled, prescribe the general limits in which Orthodox theological thought may move.

A particular doctrine as to which there is something like agreement among the Orthodox that it is supported by the consensus of Orthodox *theologoumena*, is to be received, at least provisionally, as in effect a dogma.

Where those *theologoumena* differ the Orthodox are free to choose between them as a matter of personal opinion.

Nor, as is evident from the trend of modern Orthodox thought, are theological development and restatement in the light of modern science precluded in regard, for example, to the traditional doctrines of Revelation and of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture.[2]

In his 23rd section, the Patriarch Meletios dwells upon the difficulty in which, through lack of an "official statement of Orthodox doctrine," the Delegation found itself. As he put it, the Confessions of the seventeenth century, with their infiltration of scholastic terminology and of scholastic theology, are of "limited authority, and of modern theologians some are 'latinizing,' others are 'pro-

[1] I quote from Professor Stefan Zankow because, though like nearly all translations, it sometimes misses the *nuances* of the original and must therefore be read with care. Dr. Lowrie's translation of his *Das Orthodoxe Christenthum des Ostens*, Berlin, 1928, is published by the Student Christian Movement under the title, *The Eastern Orthodox Church* (see p. 40 of which for the above), at 5s., and so is available for the English reader.

[2] That even so severely conservative a theologian as the Greek Androutsos finds room for the Higher Criticism is noted by Gavin, *Modern Greek Theological Thought*, p. 22 and *passim*.

testantizing.'" Accordingly, so that in future Union discussions, the Orthodox representatives may be equipped with such "an official statement," he urges that one should be prepared forthwith for endorsement by the forthcoming Orthodox Pro-Synod.

Undoubtedly, if the formulation of that statement be undertaken, it will be no light task. The dogmas of the Œcumenical Councils are relatively very few and precise only certain Christological and kindred doctrines. The corpus of *theologoumena*, or theological opinions of the fathers, is great. To eliminate from it that which is to be regarded as no more than the personal opinion of a given father and to precise that which being established as in effect of the general consensus of the fathers, must provisionally be taken as dogma, would appear to be a formidable enterprise. Moreover, in spite of the general Western misconception which obtains alike among Protestants and Roman Catholics, Orthodox Theology is alive, and therefore evolutionary, and not static. Mediæval and modern Orthodox theological thought cannot be sponged off the slate and, in however safeguarded a degree, must be an interpretative witness of what is that deposit which in its faith and practice is claimed to have been preserved in Orthodoxy without "innovation, addition or diminution" from the days of the Apostles. Nor can the restatements of tradition which are called for by the empiric science of the twentieth century be ignored.

To forecast the contents of the "official statement of Orthodox doctrine," desiderated by the Patriarch Meletios, is hardly within the province of an Anglican, and especially of an Anglican who has been privileged to be nominated as a member of the Conjoint Orthodox and Anglican Commission which is appointed to continue the Union discussions begun officially between the two Churches at Lambeth last July.

None the less, it may safely be predicted that, if such an "official statement" be placed in our hands, to quarrel with it as incompatible with the central historic Anglican position will tax the ingenuity of the most extremely sectional of Anglicans and will be effected only by the repudiation of Hooker and other "fathers" of Anglicanism.

In vindication of that prediction, it is not necessary to go back to the diversities which are already developed in the writings of Bessarion and Theophylact of Bulgaria, or other Orthodox theologians of authority, between the Great Schism and the Western Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Just as in the corpus of Anglican theology from the sixteenth century onward, there are shadings off to the right and to the left

until, if reconcilable with the extreme position, the positions reached are in open conflct, so in the corpus of Orthodox theology from the sixteenth century onward, developments of thought, of terminology and of formulation have produced "schools of thought" which may be reconcilable with the common content of the *theologoumena* of the fathers, but which are in open opposition with each other.

To take, for example, the five so-called Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy. The fifteenth century Confession of the Œcumenical Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios is an apologetic drawn up for Mahommed the Conqueror; the late sixteenth century Letters of the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II. are a polemic in controversy with the Lutherans of Tübingen; and the Confession of the Patriarch Metrophanes Kritopoulos of Alexandria, Cyril Loukar's disciple, who studied at Oxford, is an exposition of Orthodoxy, composed for the Western world.

Though they differ often in the details of the statements of Orthodox dogmatic teaching, that which has to be reconciled between them, or which has to be subtracted from them in order to arrive at that on which they are agreed, is relatively small.

The same stands true of the other two, the mid-sixteenth century Confession of Peter Mogila and the Confession of the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1682), both of which were compiled as negatives of Calvinism.

But when we compare the earlier group with the later, we find ourselves taken into another theological world of Scholastic categories, Scholastic methods of presentment and Scholastic terminology and definitions.

I have not instanced the contrasts of the five Orthodox "Symbolic Books," because those documents have any peculiar authority. In fact, they are received as no more than venerable documents illustrative of the interpretations of the central, traditional Orthodox dogmatic position which were current in their day and which every Orthodox theologian is free to accept, restate, amend or reject at his discretion. I have instanced them, because, while prior to the sixteenth century, the interpretations of that central dogmatic position had already produced embryonic "schools of thought" among the Orthodox, those "schools of thought" have been extraordinarily evolved and others have appeared during the past three centuries. For although it is true that the conditions of the Greek nation's helotage to the Turks prevented much theological movement in the Greek Churches until the concluding decades of the nineteenth century, Russian theology, from the time that it comes into distinctive being in the middle of the seventeenth century, has been as diversified as it is rich and copious.

It is thus that, while readjusting and correcting the excessive

scholasticisms which render the Catechism of Mogila and the Confession of Dositheos almost incongruous with the central tradition of Orthodox dogmatic teaching, an important school of modern Greek theology is characterized by categories which are hard to distinguish from scholastic categories and nearly always by a methodology and terminology which reflect marked neo-Latin influences.

On the other hand, in Russian theology, with which both for volume and diversity modern Greek theology is not comparable—although, *mutatis mutandis*, an important Russian school of thought derives from that interpretation of Orthodoxy which was produced among the Greeks by the seventeenth century mediæval and scholastic infiltration—the predominant schools of thought have consistently endeavoured to eliminate Latin influences and to return for the starting point of their developments to the simplicity of the central, primitive, traditional Orthodox tradition, *i.e.*, to the consensus of the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

Accordingly, while in the writings of Philaret of Moscow and his successors, scholasticisms and neo-Latinisms are, if not eliminated, at least attenuated so as to be not easily discernible, when we come to study the neo-Russian School of which the great lay theologian Khomiakov[1] was the originator in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, we find everything Latin and Scholastic repudiated and dismissed with an emphasis even greater than everything Lutheran and Calvinist.

In itself, the Slav mentality recoils temperamentally from precisions and exults in mystic and intuitive experiences, which are incapable of precise expression. In consequence, however loyally it may sustain the position assumed by the representatives of Orthodoxy in the controversies of bygone centuries, it is always in revolt against the logical deductions alike of Roman Catholicism and of Protestantism and always reverts for its starting point to the common and unprecised element in the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

The Anglican reader who desires to test this account of the oppositions between the Orthodox schools of thought to-day, will be wise to compare Professor Zankow's *Eastern Orthodox Church*[2] with Dr. Gavin's *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Thought*,[3] which are the only two concise works of the kind in English.

Professor Zankow is cautious to state nothing as integral to the Orthodox dogmatic position, which is a development upon the common content of the *theologoumena* of the fathers.

Dr. Gavin affords us a picture of the sharp controversy which has obtained for the past thirty years between the two chief Greek schools of thought.

[1] Khomiakov was wont to say that, inasmuch as it also imposes its logical deductions as binding, German Protestantism is the correlative of Roman Catholicism.
[2] Student Christian Movement, 1929. [3] Mowbray's, 1923.

It is true, indeed, that admirable and scientific though that picture is, he has made the mistake of concluding that what is common to those two schools must necessarily be integral to the general Orthodox position.

Moreover—he is at pains to state that he is unacquainted with Russian and other non-Greek theology—his general presentment of the dogmatic teaching of the whole Orthodox Church assimilates it unwarrantably to modern Roman Catholicism.

For instance, he deduces an equation of Metousiosis with Transubstantiation.

None the less, he is master of his particular subject. For example, he shows us Professor Androutsos on the one hand contending that, in the Eucharist, Christ is present " really and actually ***under*** the forms of Bread and Wine," and on the other hand, Professor Dyovouniotes challenging such an interpretation as being " based on the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation," as pronouncing it one that " cannot be accepted in the Eastern Church," and as protesting that " Our Lord said : ' Take eat, *this* is my body,' not ' ***under this*** is my body.' . . . If we repudiate in every way the Protestant attempt to interpret these words to mean *this* ' represents, stands for ' . . . how much less may we dare to substitute ***under this*** for His word, ' this ' ? "[1]

However far apart the various Orthodox " schools of thought " may be, and however sharp at times the controversies of their exponents, the Orthodox laity knows nothing of them. Nor are the clergy troubled by them. That the Orthodox Church thus escapes the mischief which is done in the Anglican Communion by party spirit, by party nomenclature and watchwords and by party conflicts, is due no doubt in the first instance to the fact that oppositions between Orthodox " schools of thought " do not find expression in contrasted forms of public worship, or of private religious practice.

A striking diversity of church ritual as of private religious practice differentiates the Greek from the Russian, the Roumanian, the Bulgarian, and the Serb. But the ritual and customs of all the autokephalous churches are unaffected by the particular theological positions of the individual clergy, which are rarely anyone's concern except their own.

Again, Orthodoxy has known no cataclysms such as our Reformation, and Orthodox schools of thought have diverged from the common position imperceptibly by theological development.

But undoubtedly the great prophylactic in Orthodoxy against the disease of " party " has been the corollary to the principle of œcumenicity, that the Church being the organ of love, its unity must be broken neither by demanding as of Faith the acceptance of any-

[1] Gavin, *op. cit.*, pp. 330–1.

thing which is not explicit in the *theologoumena* of the fathers, nor the forbidding as heresy any interpretation of those *theologoumena* which does not overthrow them.

In effect, the Orthodox Delegation put its questions at Lambeth last July in a minimal form that summarized those *theologoumena* which it held to determine the essentials of a valid Ministry. As the Patriarch Meletios puts it in his 6th section, the answers which it desiderated were not to give "that which is advanced individually as the Anglican position by this or that individual," but were to give a summary—to borrow the term[1]—of the corresponding Anglican *theologoumena*.

If the answers which the Delegation received satisfied it, and if they were endorsed by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference as giving a "sufficient account" of Anglican teaching, we may well be hopeful that the exploration of other dogmatic regions will show the Anglican Church as it is to be in dogmatic agreement with the Orthodox Church as it is.

At any rate, those Anglicans who have been perturbed by the Alexandrian Synod's use of the term "propitiatory sacrifice," may dismiss as chimerical the notion that the Orthodox Church is going to ask the Anglican Communion to accept a mediæval, scholastic theory of the sacraments, an *opus operatum* by the mere Laying on of Hands in Ordination, Transubstantiation, the Eucharist as a *sacrificium propitiatorium*, or any such thing.

Archbishop Nectarie's Report.

We cannot be sufficiently grateful to Archbishop Nectarie for the timely publication of his Report to the Roumanian Synod.

Unlike the Patriarch Meletios' statement, it does not survey the problems of the Orthodox and Anglican approach towards Union, but it is no less revealing than that document to which it is complementary and with which it is of comparable importance.

Read together the two make the story of the Delegation easily intelligible and confirm what I have written in this and my preceding articles.

The Roumanian Church took over two years before replying to the Œcumenical Patriarch's Encyclical of 28th July, 1922, which

[1] One is tempted to dream of the change which would come over British religious life if, just as all Orthodox schools of thought diverge from common *theologoumena*, so all Anglican schools of thought set themselves to converge in the formulation of common *theologoumena* beyond the acceptance of which they would demand nothing as *de fide* and no interpretations of which, that did not overthrow them, they would regard as heretical. If the Lambeth Conference of 1930 solved the S. Indian problem by the Orthodox principle of Economy, the Lambeth Conference of 1940 may resolve our party antinomies by use of the Orthodox principle of *theologoumena*.

announced the economic acceptance of Anglican Orders by the Great Church of Constantinople and invited the other autokephalous churches to accede to that acceptance. Then, on January 10th, 1925, the Patriarch Miron Christea wrote, hopefully and kindly, but quite definitely, to the effect that his Synod must delay its decision until it was satisfied upon two points : (1) Does the Anglican Communion hold that the Church is a visible society, the members of which are recognizable ? (2) In general is the Anglican conception of a *sacrament* cognate to the Orthodox conception of a *mysterion ?* and in particular does the Anglican conception of Ordination satisfy the Orthodox conception of a *mysterion ?*

On receiving the invitation to take part in the Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference, the Roumanian Synod accepted it with the greater eagerness because it opened the prospect of a decision one way or the other upon those two points.

Accordingly, Archbishop Nectarie came to London last June reinforced with definite instructions to insist that the Delegation should concentrate upon those two points as the agenda of its discussions with our bishops.

The prompt and unanimous acceptance of that *tesa Romana* or Roumanian thesis as soon as he posed it to them, by his colleagues of the Delegation demonstrated the absurdity of suspecting any of them as being ready to make a dogmatic compromise and brought them together.

At the Delegation's meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber with the Archbishops' Eastern Churches Committee, on July 9th, the Patriarch Meletios proposed that the Roumanian thesis should be the subject for the Delegation's discussions with our Bishops.

In due course, that proposal was communicated to and accepted by the Anglican Bishops, and the two points of the Roumanian thesis were stiffened and elaborated into four questions, the answers to which were unanimously agreed by the Delegation to be satisfactory and were implemented by the plenum of the Lambeth Conference.

In sum, Archbishop Nectarie's Report shows that the scope of the Delegation's enquiries was confined solely to the Roumanian thesis, *i.e.*, to the final removal of Orthodox hesitation on Anglican Orders, and that after stating in maximal form the requirements for their acceptance by the whole Orthodox Church as indicated by the Roumanian Patriarch, the Delegation was satisfied with the Anglican answer.

The question of Union between the two Churches which otherwise was not trenched upon was left for the next Lambeth Conference.

If any Orthodox autokephalous church is not satisfied with that which satisfied the Delegation, but desires a further authoritative statement before accepting Anglican Orders clearly, that statement also can only be made by the next Lambeth Conference.

The Four Meetings of the Delegation with the Anglican Bishops.

While I was writing the preceding paragraphs I received authority to publish the official minutes[1] of the four discussions held between the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops. Those minutes speak plainly for themselves and, though perhaps they render some of it superfluous, bear out what I have said in this article about the doctrinal statements in the *resumé* and render further comment upon them unnecessary.

The Conjoint Doctrinal Commission.

A few words, however, are desirable concerning the Conjoint Orthodox and Anglican Commission to the setting up of which the Delegation agreed at its first meeting with the Anglican Bishops, and as to the Suggested Terms of Intercommunion which at the same meeting, though with the reserve that in many particulars they would require to be filled in, the Patriarch Meletios pronounced to be admirable.

Necessarily, the Conjoint Commission is not envisaged as plenipotentiary, and its function can be no more than that of investigation and of liaison.

A priori, the Orthodox side of the Delegation cannot be content with a statement of the Anglican dogmatic position made by the Anglican side of the Commission. To be accepted by it as an authentic exposition of the Anglican position such a statement must be affirmed either by the totality of the Anglican Episcopate, or synodically by each and all of the Anglican Churches. But even if the Orthodox side of the Conjoint Commission should declare itself satisfied that such a statement establishes a fundamental identity between the Anglican and Orthodox dogmatic positions, that declaration will be nothing in itself, unless and until it is implemented either through a Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church or by the individual action of each and all of the Orthodox autokephalous Churches.

Of course, the above observation does not evacuate the Conjoint Commission of importance. On the contrary, once that which it is not being set up to do is realized, the moment of that which it is being set up to do becomes unmistakable.

If those Orthodox autokephalous Churches which hitherto have withheld their accession to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's acceptance of Anglican Orders in 1922 fail to implement the Delegation's unanimous declaration that it was satisfied with the Anglican answers to the questions by which it posed the Roumanian thesis in its maximal essential form, then the task of the Conjoint Commission will be something of an *opus Penelopeium*.

[1] Section II of the "Report of the Sub-Committee of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Unity" (*The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, pp. 131–9) is a condensation of these Minutes.

Plainly, it will be the business of the Anglican personnel of the Commission to convince its Orthodox personnel that until the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Churches of Roumania, Hellas, Bulgaria and Poland and the Serb Church follow the example of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and, implementing the statements of the Delegation, declare that they accede to the Œcumenical Patriarchate's acceptance of Anglican Ordinations, further discussion of dogmatic agreement between the two Churches can be no more than theoretical.

But whether or not the Delegation's declarations be implemented collectively or particularly by the whole Orthodox Church, it will be the function of the Conjoint Commission to compare the respective Orthodox and Anglican dogmatic positions and, either to pronounce them irreconcilable or to draft an *esquisse* of agreement between them for confirmation or rejection on the one hand either by an Orthodox Pro-Synod or by the Synods of all the Orthodox autokephalous Churches, and on the other hand either by the next Lambeth Conference or by the appropriate organs of each and all of the Anglican Churches.

The Personnel of the Conjoint Delegation.

A preliminary appointment of the Anglican personnel of the Conjoint Anglican and Orthodox Commission has been communicated to the Press, and consists in the Bishop of Gloucester, whose designation as its chairman was indicated by his distinction as a scholar, by his devotion to the cause of Reunion, by his peculiar position in the Anglican-Orthodox Movement and by the general confidence which, except the extremely sectionally minded, all Anglicans repose in him, by the Archbishop of Dublin who, as witness the minutes now published of the Discussions of the Delegation and the Orthodox Bishops, while committed altogether to the general cause of Christian Reunion, exercised the role of the *Cunctator* in the Discussions and is certain to continue to exercise it, by the Bishop of Gibraltar who, over and above his special theological ability, has had first hand contact with every type of Orthodoxy, by the Bishop of N. Indiana, who represents the American Church, which after all is more practically concerned in the matter of Anglican and Orthodox solidarity than any other of the Anglican Churches, by Professor Goudge of Christ Church, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity in that University, whose detachment from theological party and persuasive impartiality are irresistible, by Canon Grensted, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion at Oxford, a typical Anglican Evangelical theologian and, however unworthily, by myself. Both as a former Chaplain at Athens and as the domestic Chaplain of its Chairman, the Rev. Philip Usher has been designated as the Commission's Anglican secretary.

In regard to the Orthodox side of the Commission, it is known that

the Œcumenical Patriarch has appointed " that admirable prelate " as our Archbishop has styled him, the Metropolitan Germanos of Thyatira as its own delegate and as the Orthodox Chairman. The Metropolitan Leontios of Paphos is to be the delegate of the Church of Cyprus, which he represented in the Delegation, and our old friend Mgr. Nicholas, formerly Metropolitan of Nubia and now of Ermopolis, who represented it at Stockholm in 1925 and at Lausanne in 1927, and is a *persona gratissima* to us all, has been nominated as the Delegate of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The Metropolitan of Taikkala has been nominated to represent the Church of Hellas.

The " Suggested Terms of Intercommunion."

This document was drawn up in 1921 by the present Bishop of Gloucester with the help of Canon Brightman, at the request of the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee. It describes the *filioque* as an illegal interpolation and prescribes that though the Anglican Church may maintain it, as it were, as its local Creed, the Œcumenical Creed must be recited without it whenever Anglican and Orthodox meet together.

Otherwise, it assumes no difference of dogmatic teaching between the two churches but proceeding largely on the sound principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*, affords a framework for detailed agreements between them.

Its contents were not discussed with the Delegation, which, however, welcomed it and stated that its members would recommend its careful and favourable examination both by the Synods of their respective autokephalous churches and by the forthcoming Pro-Synod of the whole Orthodox Church.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS ON THE DELEGATION'S VISIT.

A Statement made by His All-Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria to the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate in regard to the contact in London of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches.

Translated by Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.,
from *Pantænos* of Dec. 11th and Dec. 18th, 1930.

(1) Since the official contact of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches which took place last July in London on the occasion of the Lambeth Conference constitutes an ecclesiastical happening of especial importance, I feel that in laying the official records of (our) particular discussions (with its members) before the Holy Synod I ought also to put it in possession of the personal conclusions and judgments which I reached as a member of the Orthodox Delegation.

(2) At the session of our Synod in the spring, when we decided to accept the invitation which his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Lang had addressed to the whole Orthodox Church through the occupant of its primatial Throne, his All-Holiness, the Œcumenical Patriarch Photios, we were all conscious that it opened the possibility of a remarkable advance in the mutual approach of the two Churches. Accordingly the Synod judged that the personal participation of the Patriarch of Alexandria in the Orthodox Delegation would not be an over-emphasis of what was in hand.

Its practical result, however, exceeded our anticipation.

(3) All the particular Orthodox Churches, as soon as they received the invitation and—for the necessary time would not have been available—without arriving at a mutual agreement, were urgent to notify their participation in the Delegation which thus was constituted of delegates of the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Serbia, Rumania, Cyprus, Greece and Poland. The absence of delegates from the Churches of Russia and of Georgia alone prevented the totality of the autokephalous Churches of the One Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church being represented in the Delegation. None the less, the consciousness was there that in spirit those Churches also took part in our prayers and discussions for the blessed work of Union.

(4) In spite, however, of this eagerness on the part of the Orthodox Churches for contact with the totality of the Anglican Bishops, none of the Delegates appeared to expect any concrete result from that contact.

Some of them, indeed, had plainly prepared themselves for the defence of the purity of Orthodox dogmas, as if they suspected some of their brethren and fellow ministers of the sacraments of a disposition to make concessions upon it.

(5) Happily there was no need of lengthy conferences among ourselves in order to establish the general conclusion that all the delegates were devoted champions of the religious tradition of our forefathers and that the Delegation neither intended to deviate—nor indeed could have taken warrant to do so—in an iota from Orthodox dogma, but that on the contrary it understood its mandate on the one hand to be the manifesting clearly through its contact with the Anglican Hierarchy the eager desire of the whole Orthodox World for the Union of the two Churches, and on the other hand a conjoint examination with that Hierarchy of certain dogmatic positions, not of the Orthodox Church but of the Anglican Communion[1] as to whether the difference between them is essential or a matter of verbal expression.

[1] [The Greek *Omologia* corresponds more strictly to *Confession*, but the Patriarch has translated Communion by it in his excerpt from Resolution 49, see §16. So I use it here and throughout.—J.A.D.]

(6) And further it was obvious, both that for the purpose in hand it was necessary to ascertain not that which is advanced individually as the Anglican dogmatic position by this or that Anglican minister, but that which the totality of the Anglican bishops agrees to be that position, and which the corporate mind of the Anglican Church accepts as such, and also that for the achievement of real Union, the necessity is not the covering of differences by means of an accommodation of well chosen phrases, but rather their elucidation through the objective criterion of revealed truth as it was believed throughout the centuries of the Undivided Church, everywhere, always and by everybody, according to the ancient definition of dogma.

(7) The spiritual atmosphere in which we Orthodox found ourselves in the English capital, was, as it were, redolent with the fragrance of the love and honour in which the Orthodox Church is held. The clergy and laity, alike in their official and private capacity, vied with each other in demonstrating in a fashion altogether spontaneous, their sentiments of esteem and of warm cordiality towards the representatives of Orthodoxy who were their guests. The reverence for the office of the Patriarch of Alexandria displayed by the general body of the faithful of the Anglican Church as they knelt with one accord to receive his blessing or at his passing through their midst during processions, was practical proof that in their hearts they believe that office to be a feature of the living body of the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

(8) In this spontaneous reverence which everywhere and on every occasion was displayed invariably by the laity towards the Orthodox Hierarchs, we ought to discern on the one hand the source of the eager desire for the union of the Anglican with the Orthodox Church and on the other hand the potentiality of that Union. In the soul of that laity there exists no trace of doubt or uncertainty but that the Orthodox Church holds stewardship of the Apostolic Traditions and of the Grace of Christ. It is grieved and distressed when it hears or perceives that we Orthodox refuse to allow it to be a sharer in our Mystic Table. For the very reason that it regards itself as Orthodox, the idea that the Orthodox ought to be proselytized to Anglicanism is altogether foreign to its mind.

(9) On our side, in spite of our rooted prejudices as to there being a difference and even a contradiction in many things between the two Churches, we Orthodox Delegates were affected by the influence of this devout environment. When we took part in their services which were at the same time impressive and stirring, we were stirred ourselves. For as we remarked the devotion with which they were rendered and perceived the reverence with which they were read and sung, we conceived the conviction that they also are a "Camp of God." And, indeed, God's work is done by

as many of "either Camp" as labour sincerely and in simplicity of heart, for the Union of them both in one Flock under the Shepherd, our Lord Jesus Christ.

(10) It was under the influence of such reflections and experiences that after the ceremonies in the Cathedrals of Canterbury and of London, we Orthodox Delegates came together with Anglicans and enquired into the differences which separate the two Churches first at a semi-official and preliminary conference in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey and then in four official conferences in Lambeth Palace.

(11) The preliminary conference consisted of a meeting of the Orthodox Delegation with the permanent Committee of the Archbishop of Canterbury for Relations with the Eastern Churches of which the Chairman is the Right Reverend Doctor Gore, formerly Bishop of Oxford, a fervid enthusiast in the cause of Union. At this meeting the points of difference were formulated on either side which were to be elucidated at the official conferences in Lambeth Palace between the Delegation and the Committee of the Conference. For our part, we judged it to be altogether necessary to enter upon the sphere of dogma on which Union depends. On the other hand, they gave preference to certain questions involving mutual ministrations which are of pressing urgency.

(12) If through the shortness of the time available, the official conferences were limited to four, there was no need of more; for their purpose was not a detailed examination of all the differences (between the two churches) but an experimental exchange of opinions upon some of them. The preference of the Orthodox Delegation was given to those points of possible disagreement which present themselves prominently as set forth in the writings of Orthodox theologians or in the official documents of Orthodox authorities.

(13) In precised form the following questions[1] were put forward by us:

(*a*) Does the Anglican Church accept Ordination as a Mystery and its being a link in unbroken succession with the Apostles?

(*b*) Does it accept that the Bread and Wine become the Body and Blood of Christ? and that the oblation of the Divine Eucharist is a spiritual *thusia hilasterios* for the living and the dead?

(*c*) In the Anglican Church what is the body which decides authoritatively upon differences as to the Faith?

[1] [On account of the importance of the exact sense, I quote the Greek:

(*a*) Δέχεται ἡ Ἀγγλικανικὴ Ἐκκλησία τὴν χειροτονίαν ὡς Μυστήριον καὶ τὸν κατ' ἀδιάκοπον διαδοχὴν αἰτῆς σύνδεσμον μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων.

(*b*) Δέχεται ὁ τι ὁ Ἄρτος καὶ ὁ Οἶνος γίνονται Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅτι ἡ προσφορὰ τῆς Θείας Εὐχαριστίας εἶνε θυσία πνευματικὴ ἱλαστήριος ὑπὲρ ζώντων καὶ θανόντων.

(*c*) Ποία εἶνε ἐν τῇ Ἀγγλικανικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ Σῶμα τὸ ἐγκύρως ἀποφαινόμενον ἐπὶ διαφορῶν Πίστεως.

(*d*) If a member of the Anglican Church shall have preached in contradiction of the Faith of the Church, what is his *status* in the Church? and how is it decided?

(14) Before these questions, however, we put the question as to whether the "Terms of Intercommunion,"[1] published in 1923 by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Eastern Churches Committee, were regarded by the Lambeth Conference as expressing the mind of the Anglican Church. These Terms deal with the Christian Faith, with the Canon of Holy Scripture, with the Writings of the Fathers and the Traditions of the Church, with the Creeds and Œcumenical Councils, with the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the uncanonical interpolation in the Creed, with Customs in the Church, with the number of the *Mysteries*, with the Divine Eucharist, with Orders and with sacred Ikons.

Of these Terms we discussed only those which have reference to the Ministry and to the Divine Eucharist. But it was of importance that we should know whether they are regarded as expressing the Spirit of the Anglican Church in order that they might afford us a starting point for our conference.

(15) The Anglican Bishops with whom we conferred, belonged to every tendency or school of thought in their Church, *i.e.*, to use designations easily understandable by the Orthodox, to the (Roman) Catholicizing, to the Protestantizing and to the phil-Orthodox. This composition of the sub-committee of the Conference, when the distinguished position of its members in the Anglican hierarchy is further taken into consideration, added greater value to the answers which it gave to the questions put before it by the Orthodox Delegation. Moreover, we are bound to attach even greater weight to the fact that the Conference itself, which consisted of 308 Bishops, endorsed those answers with its authority by resolving that it recorded, "Its acceptance of the statements" of the sub-committee "as a sufficient account of the teaching and practice of the Church of England and of the Churches in communion with it."[2]

(*d*) Ἐὰν Μέλος τι τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κηρυχθῇ κατὰ τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁποία καὶ πῶς καθορίζεται ἡ θέσις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Of these four questions only (*a*) and (*c*) are actually given in the summary of the discussions in *The Lambeth Conference*, 1930, where, p. 134, they appear in a slightly different form. Their Greek version as given by the Patriarch is the original which was handed in to the sub-committee by the Delegation. In it I have transliterated ἱλαστήριος and have not translated it by *propitiatory* because the Orthodox use of the term in no way involves the conception usually attached to a *sacrificium propitiatorium*.—J.A.D.]

[1] [S.P.C.K. In English, 1921, and in Greek and Russian, 1925.

[2] [I have quoted the actual text of the Lambeth Conference's Resolution 33 (c) and not retranslated the Patriarch's Greek translation of it, in which he rendered "sufficient account" by ἀκριβὴς ἀπόδοσις which in my judgment is a fair rendering of it. An ἀκριβὴς ἀπόδοσις is a generally accurate and not an *exactly* accurate account and that, I take it, is what is meant by the Conference's Resolution. The Archbishop of Thyatira, however, preferring "genuine account," I have adopted it in my translation of the Alexandrian Synod's Resolution re our Orders.—J.A.D.]

(16) The Conference was under the necessity of prefacing that endorsement with the remark that "not having been summoned as a Synod to issue any statement professing to define doctrine" it "is therefore unable to issue such a formal statement on the subjects referred to in the Résumé of the discussions between the Delegation and the Anglican Bishops." For, as it stated in another resolution, the Churches which constitute the Anglican Communion are "bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority but by mutual loyalty"[1]—to which resolution is appended that they are so, "awaiting the time when the Churches of the present Anglican Communion will enter into communion with other parts of the Catholic Church, not definable as Anglican."

(17) That when all the Bishops of the Anglican Church come together for Conference under the presidency of their Primate, they should deny themselves the authority of being a Synod, does not enter easily into the understanding of us Orthodox. That is why we put forward our question, "In the Anglican Church what is the body which decides authoritatively upon differences as to the Faith?" The answer given that, although the co-operation of the Clergy and the Laity is not excluded, "It is the Bishops," corresponds with the organic structure of the Anglican Church in which in imitation of the English Parliament each particular autokephalous Church is administered either by two Bodies, the Council of the Bishops and the Council of the Representatives of the Clergy and the Laity, or by a single Body consisting of Bishops and the Representatives of the Clergy and the Laity. The organic laws, however, of the particular Anglican Churches prescribe that dogmatic questions and matters of public worship are to be raised and decided by the vote of their Bishops alone. Therefore, since priests, deacons, monks and laymen are not precluded in the Orthodox system from expressing an opinion in Synods, and for several Orthodox Churches ratification of terms of Union by the legislature would be required, the Orthodox Delegation declared itself agreed that on this point we are near to agreement; for it was convinced that there would be no difficulty as to agreement upon the Orthodox dogma that in the Church the highest authoritative functions belong to an Œcumenical Synod.

(18) As an evidence of tendencies making for Orthodoxy in the Lambeth Conference, we should indicate its decision as to the Scheme for the Union of the Protestant Churches in S. India with the local Anglican Church.

The matter under consideration touched the very existence of Christianity in India where the leaders of the Churches have announced their conviction that Church Unity is a necessity for

[1] Lambeth Conference, 1930, Resolution 49.

the progress of the Gospel and that otherwise the ground which has been gained is in danger of being lost. To bring about that Unity, they were agreed on the one hand that on Union the existing ministers of the Protestant Churches should be accepted without reordination, on the condition that no one in future should enter upon the ministry of the Sacraments without ordination by an Anglican bishop, but on the other hand that the tendency of the Scheme should be to secure the predominence of the Faith and Practice of the Anglican Church. Those Anglicans who advocated the acceptance of the Scheme, emphasized the fact that their objective was, through a timely concession by Economy, to establish permanently on the bases of Anglican dogma that unity which is vitally necessary. The question was burning and it was on account of it that occasion arose for the discussion of Economy which took place during the exchange of views by Anglicans and Orthodox and in the course of which it was made plain that the proposed act of *Economy* has no precedent in the history of the Orthodox Church. In the result, though the Lambeth Conference expressed its recognition of the necessity of a united front in India, it refrained from pronouncing formal approval of the actual Scheme of Union on the ground that it was resolved to avoid anything which might break the solidarity of the Anglican Communion. In effect that may be taken as an intimation that, on entering into Union with the Protestant Churches of S. India the autokephalous Anglican Church of S. India will cease to be regarded as a member of the Anglican Communion.

(19) The above are the brighter features in the general lines of the pieture of the relations of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches as they were made apparent by the opportunity of the Lambeth Conference of 1930. On the other hand that picture presents features which are darker and which put limits to our sense of optimism. Of these some are the results of the historic past of the Anglican Church, others of the present condition of the Orthodox World and others again of the hostility displayed by Roman Catholics and by some Protestants to the Union of the two Churches.

(20) The past of the Anglican Church has been stormy and much troubled not only on account of its enslavement in a foreign subjugation but by reason of its internal upheavals against authority and of disruptive party struggles which are analogous to those which rent our own Church in the periods of Arianism and of Ikonoclasm; and that past continues to-day to influence its thought and its movements. A lively desire for the recovery of the purity of the teaching of the Undivided Church is there, but the parting of the highway which leads to it into a road towards Papalism and a road towards Orthodoxy, creates an indecision as

to the choice of one or other of them. Rome stands by the sign-post at that parting of the way, making the most both of the allure of a past of common traditions and ways of religious life, and of the fascination of its present evolved, world-wide, ecclesiastical, monarchical rule. In complete contrast Orthodoxy is not in evidence there. In regard to its dogmatic teaching, it is unknown; in regard to its ways of religious life, it is misinterpreted; and it is attacked by the enemies of Union as a corpse, that is corrupt and full of superstition. The ferment which began through the Oxford Tractarian Movement of a century ago, combines with this to create a certain bitterness of mutual opposition between the two elements —the Roman Catholic and the Protestant—which, without being welded perfectly together, were united in the days of Queen Elizabeth to make the Anglican Church as it is. Moreover, the precedent set by Newman who initiated the Oxford Movement for the vindication of the Holy Apostolic Church as being without a Papacy but—and his example has been followed in many cases—who died a Papist, on the one hand naturally arouses the Protestant School of Thought to counter-activity and on the other hand not only involves those charged with the supreme pastoral function in the Church in grave anxieties but renders them averse to making authoritative declarations in those cases in which through fear of the allure of Rome the current exposition of dogma has become expressed in a manner liable to misinterpretation.

(21) It is by a conspectus of this inner situation of the Anglican Church that a clear explanation is to be found as to why it is that it avoids dogmatic decisions and prefers "comprehensiveness," which indeed it regards as a thing specially to be desired of itself. Terms which have become known through the controversies of the past as being bound up with the errors of the Roman Church, it rejects categorically. Though at the same time, the doctrine which the Orthodox Church uses them to express, is itself accepted by it. Thus, *e.g.*, it agrees with our doctrine that the Eucharist is a 'propitiatory' (hilasterios)[1] sacrifice for the living and the dead, but it refuses to use the term "propitiatory" in stating that doctrine inasmuch as its association suggests the errors of Purgatory and of the transition at the Pope's good pleasure of souls from that Purgatory to Paradise. Again, Anglicans have no hesitation in accepting St. John Chrysostom's statement that the Bread and Wine *are made to be*[2] Christ's Body and Blood by the operation of the Holy Ghost, but they reject the term transubstantiation

[1] See above note on Section 13.

[2] [*Poiountai* equals *fiant*. It is noteworthy that Archbishop Nectarie translates by *devin* which equals become. See p. 162.—J.A.D.]

(metousiosis)[1] as belonging to Scholastic Theology and being bound up with materialistic conceptions.

(22) The relation of the Church of England with the State as it has been established in the past is a further obstacle to Union. Not only because the 39 Articles and the Prayer Book constituting a law of the State can only be revised by a law of the State, but because the history of the recent rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons shows conclusively that in its teaching the Church is restricted by the relationship which obtains between it and the State. The Episcopal Church of America has been freed from those restrictions and in its development has consequently assumed an expression which approximates more closely to that of Orthodoxy.

(23) For the lessening of those difficulties the Orthodox Church ought to extend a helping hand. An official statement of Orthodox doctrine which clearly defined its position between the contradictions of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism would strongly reinforce the attraction of Orthodoxy. The fact that we have to refer Anglicans to the Orthodox Confessions of the 15th and 16th centuries[2] and to the writings of Orthodox theologians who are received as possessing authority, constitutes a weakness in our position.

For those Confessions are imperfect and have a limited authority, and those theologians, having no certain guides beyond the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils, sometimes contradict one another and at other times demonstrably incline either to Roman Catholicism or to Protestantism. In result, when an Orthodox delegate engages in an official discussion with Anglicans he finds himself frequently embarrassed by the fact that while he cannot produce a formulated summary of the Doctrine of his Church, he starts with the claim that he speaks in the name of a Church which possesses a doctrine that has been formulated by the precisions of the Œcumenical Councils.

[1] [The Patriarch here uses transubstantiation and metousiosis as interchangable. Very many Russian theologians differentiate sharply between metousiosis (transessentiation) and transubstantiation. About 1840, Philaret, of Moscow, ordered the term transubstantiation which had come to be used in a transliterated form in Russian text-books and catechisms to be struck out and presuschestvlenie, the exact etymological equivalent of metousiosis, to be submitted. Modern Greek theologians, however, generally use transubstantiation and metousiosis as interchangeable. But see my remarks on p. 163.—J.A.D.]

[2] [His All-Holiness refers to the so-called "Symbolic Books," sc. the Apologia of Gennadios Scholarios, 1453, the Letters of the Œcumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II. to the Lutherans of Tübingen, 1535, the Confession of Metrophanes Kritopoulos circ. 1630, the Confession of Peter Mogila circ., 1640, and the Confession of Dositheos which was incorporated in the Acts of the Council of Bethlehem, 1682. The positions assumed in these books are often highly contrasted and sometimes appear to be in complete opposition. They indicate the width of the stream of *theologoumena* which are optional in the unprecised region of Orthodox dogma. Although these Symbolic Books are received with reverence by Orthodox theologians, they are received by them rather as important historical documents which must be studied critically and as in no sense binding in their *theologoumena*.—But see my own preceding article.—J.A.D.]

(24) The Rumanian theologian, the late M. Dimitrescu, developed the need of an official Orthodox Confession very eloquently at the Pan-Orthodox Conference of 1923 in Constantinople and such a Confession is an indispensable requirement for the progress of the negotiations for Union of the Orthodox with the Anglican or, indeed, with any other Church. Accordingly the drafting of such a Confession so that a General Orthodox Council may find it ready prepared and may invest it with the highest Pan-Orthodox authority, is one of the most pressing duties of the approaching Orthodox Pro-Synod.

(25) The very difficulty with which we approach the undertaking of the holding a General Synod itself constitutes an obstacle to the work of Union. It is now twelve years since the Anglicans were told that a General Orthodox Synod is imminent and that it will give an official reply to their desire for Union. Of course, there is no lack of good reasons to justify the delay, but it is none the less true that the Romeward current among the Anglicans draws strength from the fact that there is a general perception of the powerlessness of the Orthodox Church to convene a General Council in accordance with its doctrine that both in its particular jurisdictions and as a whole the Government of the Church is on the synodical principle. This powerlessness of ours to convene a General Council is interpreted as the outcome of a spirit of excessive racialism which has made its way into the Orthodox World. Indeed, in this spirit of division among us Orthodox, many Anglicans of authority see a further obstacle to Union, namely, national rivalry. For, accustomed as each of the Orthodox laities is to regard its particular Church and Nation as being one and the same, it is bound to carry its national rivalries into the consideration of the problem of the Union of Churches and to scrutinize as to what particular advantage it stands to gain for its Nation, or its neighbours stand to gain for their Nation, from any given Union.

(26) Further the Anglican Church is but little known in the complex of the Orthodox Church as a whole. The great majority of the Orthodox laity confuses it with Protestantism and fails to understand how it is that while we combat Protestant heresies, we discuss Union with it. Moreover, there are not a few among the responsible leaders of Orthodox public opinion who, when they hear talk of Anglican High Church, Broad Church and Anglo-Catholic Church parties, imagine that that nomenclature signifies the existence of separated and self-constituted Anglican Churches and ask with which of them there is a project for our Union. Accordingly, inasmuch as it is to be assumed as a principle that Union must come not alone as the fruit of mutual understanding between those who exercise the supreme pastoral function in the two Churches, but no less as the fruit of the mutual knowledge of their

peoples, it is easy to perceive that in this respect also the path to Union is not without obstacles.

(27) And further, over and above these difficulties which originate from Anglicans and Orthodox themselves, must be added those which originate from sources that are inimical to their Union, namely from Protestants and Catholics. There can hardly be need for me to say that the Union of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches is regarded with ill will by those engaged in the propaganda of the claims of the Papacy to be the divinely constituted and supreme monarchy in the Church. But the same is true also of those Protestants who are engaged in winning adherents for those Churches known as "Free Protestant Churches" and who being at variance with the Anglican Church in their common country, do not scruple to accuse the Orthodox Church of being even worse in its superstitions than the Roman Catholic Church. Their only purpose in this is to distract the mind of their rival. Roman Catholics, however, also regard the movement for our Union with the Anglicans with ill will because they suspect it as being directed against their Church, that is to say in effect against their principles.

(28) Of course, from the fact that, since in its theory the Papacy interprets itself as a Unique World Empire, it has adopted the programme of bringing every denomination of Christianity, large or small, into subjection to the sceptre of the Pope, it follows naturally, that it looks upon every act of Union other than with itself as being counter to its plans. None the less, though the consideration that their Union would make them stronger to resist the attacks of Roman Catholicism must find a place in the Orthodox and the Anglicans' plans of defence, the paramount motive in their movement for Union is not fear of Rome against which both Churches have conducted each its own defence successfully for centuries, but is the longing for each other's help in the field of the Lord and therein for the advance of the spirit which seeks General Christian Union.

(29) For if to the Roman propagandist every act of Union other than with his own Church signifies a setback, to the Orthodox and to the Anglicans who desire union and not annexation, it signifies a lessening of the distance to the goal of the realization of our Lord's Prayer, "That they all may be one." Moreover (it is our belief), that when once convinced that there exists a surer road to General Christian Union than the road of subjugation, Rome itself will retrace her way and accept that position which she held in the Undivided Church and which both Orthodox and Anglicans keep vacant for her. None the less, the simple objectives of the Orthodox and the Anglican have no appeal to the Papalist's mentality. In their movement towards Union, he can see only an activity directed against his own Church and will endeavour

to paralyse or retard it by any and every means—and he has many such at his disposal—ecclesiastical or political. It is the special duty of those who are engaged as leaders in the work of our movement to keep this fact anxiously in mind, but everybody who is interested in the movement's favourable issue must do the same in order not to be unprepared for the shock of reverses.

(30) The above difficulties originate in human inability; but, in spite of them, the work is predestined by Heaven to develop until to the Glory of Christ our God, it reaches the blessed consummation of our longing. Both the present Primates of the two Churches, the Œcumenical Patriarch Photios and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Lang, are Pastors worthy of their mission. In the Theological Commission which, according to the proposal of the Anglicans and Orthodox who conferred at Lambeth, they are now engaged in constituting with a *personnel* of theologians of authority drawn from both Churches, they will supply the movement with a suitable controlling executive. If the judgment of Photios the Great that "In cases where the thing disregarded is not a matter of faith and does not involve a falling away from any general or catholic decree, where different customs and usages are observed in different places, a man who knows how to judge would be right in deciding that neither do those who observe them act wrongly, nor those who have received them break the law"[1] be accepted as a postulate of their discussions, then with the aid of the prayers of both Churches, there will be no difficulty in finding the road by which we shall be guided into Unity of Faith and the knowledge of the One Lord Who is blessed for ever.

✠ MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

[1] [This passage is quoted as supplying the right principle in Term IX on the Variety of Customs in the Church in the Suggested Term of Intercommunion, p. 9, S.P.C.K., 1921.]

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